St. Charles Seminary Library
Carthagena, Ohio

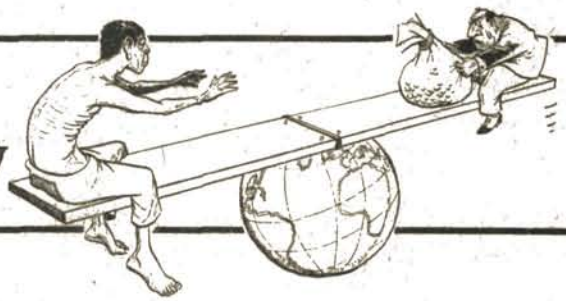
commonweal

The Editors
HOLOCAUST
BY HUNGER

ONE DOLLAR

NOVEMBER 23, 1979

JIM MORRELL
Our Philippine colony



ISIDORE SILVER
How to deal with police brutality

JOSEPH O'DONOGHUE
Social Security: can it stay healthy?

HUGH MAGISTER **THROW OUT THE TIME-SERVERS**
GEORGE LIBER **THE SOVIET CENSUS & CENTRAL ASIANS**
FRANK GETLEIN **THE GREAT INVASION OF CUBA**
ABIGAIL McCARTHY **ON NATI[illegible]**
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR. **EV[illegible]** 45822 OH **JAMES** : CELINA **

ST CHARLES SEM LIB
CARTHAGENA STA

8012 007997N

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

More on motherhood

Oxford, England

To the Editors: I read with interest Anna Maria Murdoch's "Motherhood & Mythology" [Aug. 31] and—for me, at any rate—it struck home. The conflict between motherhood and mental creativity seems undeniable.

There are perhaps two minor difficulties. I think Ms. Murdoch might point out, once again, that the woman supplies as much to conception as the man. And I hesitate to call pregnancy creative. At least, it is not voluntary or controlled, as intellectual creativity is.

MARY ELLMANN

Bishops & science

Santa Rosa, Calif.

To the Editors: John Cort's article on science, technology, and the church was most timely and most welcome [Sept. 28]. His citation of Dr. Rustum Roy, both a scientist and philosopher, came from an excellent source and leading authority.

Roy's suggestion, with Cort's approval, that the bishops of the U.S.A. appoint a task force to consider the relationships between science and religion calls for a comment. It might surprise some to learn that the U.S. bishops do have a committee on science, technology, and human values. Eight years ago it was established ad hoc; four years ago as a permanent committee of the N.C.C.B. In the face of a smattering of episcopal opposition "for budgetary reasons," the bishops almost unanimously voted in favor.

Again last year "for budgetary reasons," an attempt was made to eliminate the committee budget and staff. The bishops again overwhelmingly defeated the proposal in the interest of keeping the church alert to the moral problems and progress in the fields of science and technology.

Readers of *Commonweal* should be reminded that this periodical's own editorial supported the committee and rightly questioned both the wisdom and good sense of eliminating a committee dedicated to matters so essential for the church in the modern world.

So the American bishops have not been asleep at the switch in their appreciation of this field. The committee has published papers on the invasion of privacy through computers and data banks, on recombinant DNA, on energy, the value of life, and even on the test-tube baby.

Commonweal's support was most appreciated, and, I trust, will continue. Dr. Roy's statements that "The separation between church and science-technology has been so great it could be mistaken for divorce" and that "science and technology have become the functional deity for most of Western humanity" are right on target. But something similar can be predicated about Eastern humanity, citing as a start, 900 million Chinese whose government seems quite willing to bring back the Jesuits if the Jesuits will bring back their knowledge of science with them.

Even ecumenism does not embrace in its purview as many people on earth as those accepting "the functional deity."

Cort's article underscores the necessity for the Bishops' Conference to give greater prominence to its own good works.

(MOST REV.) MARK J. HURLEY
Bishop of Santa Rosa

Reality & science

Taneytown, Md.

To the Editors: "Science, Faith & Future" by John C. Cort [Sept. 28] contains several statements symptomatic of our modern confusion concerning science and religion. It seems to me that the crux of the problem is that we do not know who we are or what we are about, especially when we are "doing" science.

Rustum Roy, chairman of the Sciences, Technology and Society Program at Pennsylvania State University is quoted as saying "Science and technology have become the functional deity for most of Western humanity." In commenting upon the World Council of Churches meeting at MIT in July he proposed that a national sample of Catholics be asked two questions. The content of these questions all too clearly reveals our inherent confusion concerning science and religion. One is asked to choose between the "truth" of science and the "truth" of religion.

If truth is singular how can there be a dichotomy between scientific and religious truth? Why must one choose between technology and theology?

I would like to suggest that the problem lies in the fact that science has been cut loose from her philosophical, and more especially, her metaphysical moorings. Any discipline that attempts to come to grips with reality must address the concept of being as the underlying principle of all reality. Things are; they exist. What are the implications of being? If the scientist by his method deals only with empirical reality he must not of necessity affirm that empirical reality is the only reality. It is only when the scientist reduces all reality to empirical reality that science and religion come into conflict. If the scientist by his very nature as scientist cannot deal with the totality of reality, so be it. But let the scientist freely admit of this limitation.

But the grandiose claim of the scientist is not the only problem. Too often religion attempts to counter the claims of science by retrenching deeper and deeper into the Kantian tradition. Rather than addressing the claims of science head-on, religion retreats into irrationality. Religion often becomes so entrenched in supernatural reality that the seeming inconsistencies with science become irrelevant. Religion, too, loses sight of her philosophical underpinnings, her rationality. Religion need not be separate from reason. This frame of mind is very

(Continued on page 639)

Commonweal is indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, Catholic Periodical Index, Index of American Periodical Verse, Book Review Digest and Book Review Index. Microfilm from Vol. 1, 1924, to current issues available through University Microfilm, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106. Serials Data Program No.: ISSN 0010-3330. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Copyright © 1979 Commonweal Publishing Co.

Illustrations: *Cover and p. 658, Vadillo,* El Sol de Mexico; *p. 660, Emil Antonucci.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

Volume CVI, Number 21	
Correspondence	642
Editorials	643
Open education: *Hugh Magister*	645
USSR population bomb: *George Liber*	646
Native soil: *Abigail McCarthy*	647
The Invasion of Cuba: *Frank Getlein*	648
Social Security—Will it make it?: *Joseph O'Donoghue*	650
Our Philippine colony: *Jim Morrell*	658
The Philadelphia story: *Isidore Silver*	660
Screen: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.*	662

Books

The Neoconservatives: *Edward T. Chase*	664
Christianity Rediscovered: *Eugene Hillman*	666
Woodstock Census/Barefoot in Babylon: *Andrew Feinberg*	667
The Old Teatament Without Illusions: *Bruce Vawter*	669

Staff

Editor: James O'Gara
Executive Editor: Peter Steinfels
Assistant Editors: Daniel M. Murtaugh, David Toolan
Editorial Assistant: Anne Robertson
Columnists: John Garvey, Frank Getlein, Abigail McCarthy, Thomas Powers
Movies: Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.
Poetry: John Fandel
Correspondents: Brian Wicker (Great Britain), Desmond Fisher (Dublin), Alain Woodrow (Paris)
Staff: Karen F. Silva, Harriette Balsky, Jacqueline Reeves
Advertising Manager: Ruth E. Taylor
Publisher: Edward S. Skillin

Commonweal, A Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts, is published biweekly, except monthly Christmas-New Year's and July and August, by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Telephone: (212) MU 3-2042. Yearly subscriptions, U.S. and Canada, $20; foreign, $22. Special two-year rate: $35; foreign, $39. Single copy, $1.

Unsolicited manuscripts are welcome but cannot be considered or returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

commonweal

HOLOCAUST BY HUNGER

"NEVER AGAIN!" Inspired by Hitler's holocaust of European Jewry, the phrase is a pledge and a prayer against inaction in the face of the deliberate murder of millions. Yet "again" is occurring. Day after day, inexorable hunger is executing starving Cambodians as methodically as gas chambers. Knowing that this needn't be so, the world watches in anguish—and in apparent helplessness. We can send our money to the voluntary relief agencies battling, like a few undermanned rescue teams, against this rising ocean of death. But a massive effort is needed. Only half the minimum goal of 1,000 tons of grain per day is likely to be reaching Cambodia at the end of this month. At stake is the survival of perhaps two-and-a-half million people.

Why can't more be done? Why not a huge program of airdrops, literally flying over the political barriers to the starving population? Why not the "land bridge" of truck convoys from Thailand to Phnom Penh, with the permission of the rival Cambodian governments if possible, without it if necessary? "I'm perfectly willing to ride in the lead truck and get shot in the process rather than sit back and have it on my conscience that I did nothing to stop a second holocaust." So says Father Theodore Hesburgh—would others be willing to join him? And why not exert pressure on the Soviet Union, as again Father Hesburgh has proposed, through their desire for U.S. grain, to move the Vietnamese-supported government in Phnom Penh and to facilitate the movement of supplies?

To ask these questions is to encounter a host of political problems. Airdrops are possible with the permission of Phnom Penh, says one observer, but without that permission there is a real chance planes would be shot down; after all, the last time U.S. planes were flying over that area, they were carrying bombs. Airdrops are chaotic and brutalizing to the population, says another experienced relief worker; we learned that in Biafra. No chance of airdrops in any case, says a third. As for truck convoys, they would have to pass through territory where, don't forget, a war is still being fought. Moreover, they would involve the Thais further in the knot of hostilities. Could the food and supplies get distributed—there are 180,000 Vietnamese troops to prevent it—if Phnom Penh objects to the means of delivery? Pressure on the Soviets may only backfire, and in the end isn't it better to pursue the negotiations with Phnom Penh which already, as in the opening up of the Mekong river, have produced some results?

And then the technical questions—unloading capacities at Kompong Som, the need for trucks, the competition with military units for road use, the problems of supervision to prevent diversion of aid. One is reminded that much more than food is involved—medical supplies, equipment, aid for reviving Cambodian agriculture so that next year's starvation can be forestalled. The complexities are there, and one is soon tempted to put the whole matter in the hands of the "experts," both technical and political.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is the image of that emaciated child, those blank-eyed and slack-limbed parents—multiplied by tens, by hundreds of thousands—that will not let us do this. The "experts" have failed too often before, and not infrequently because no one else assumed responsibility. But what can be done that is not being done? Americans are used to succeeding; we are not supposed to lose wars, not against hunger either. We want to employ all the power we believe is ours to wield. But are we to be as baffled in this struggle as we were in the Indochinese venture that helped to bring today's calamity about? Frustrated, we look for someone to blame.

In this case, there is no shortage of parties to blame. That is what, in fact, makes it different from that earlier Holocaust, and what makes an effective response so difficult.

- There is the Pol Pot regime, ruthless almost beyond imagination, responsible for the miserable deaths of perhaps one-third of Cambodia's people and for much of the nearly total disruption of its economic base. The Pol Pot forces struggle on, using mountain strongholds and Thai sanctuaries. As an alternative to the Phnom Penh government, they are hardly palatable; yet they will not be easily rooted out, and their continued resistance means that both regimes are determined to deny food and supplies to the other's forces.
- There is the Heng Samrin regime, brought into power by Vietnam's invasion. Its priorities are denying any legitimacy to the Pol Pot forces, even if that means refusing food aid from those whose efforts on the Thai border may unavoidably involve assistance to Pol Pot guerrillas, and achieving recognition for itself through international agreements. Besides a reasonable fear of American involvement, Phnom Penh may not want any outsiders witnessing its lack of roots and dependence on Vietnamese forces.
- There is Hanoi, which invaded Cambodia and would doubtless like to exercise permanent control over it. Hanoi's main concern is waging a continuing war. It disregards whatever might impede the war effort, and its interest in the life and death of millions of Cambodians appears minimal. Indeed, if Hanoi follows the same logic as Henry Kissinger did, it may even mount a Vietnamese "incursion" into Thailand to wipe out Pol Pot sanctuaries, thus threatening further diplomatic complications and possibly even military actions by Thailand and China.
- There are the Soviet Union and China, locked in combat through their proxies, willing to press their geopolitical concerns to the last Cambodian.
- There is Washington. The plight of the Cambodians does appear to have struck home in the capital. "I can think of no issue now before the world community and before every single nation," said Secretary of State Vance, "that can lay greater claim to our concern and to our action." Still, serious questions remain about the American effort. Some relief professionals say it should be larger, pointing out that $30 million of the $69 million pledge relates to PL 480 food that is not now available. Others feel Congress is acting too slowly or cautiously. But the serious questions, once more, turn on political matters. The U.S. has ended up legally supporting the genocidal Pol Pot government; so has the West's current suitor, Peking. How much is Washington inhibited by its Pol Pot-Chinese policy in negotiating relief efforts with Phnom Penh? How much should it be?

There are some stark political choices here. Hanoi and Phnom Penh may be playing the same ghastly game as the Ayatollah's zealots in Iran, except on a vastly greater scale. They are holding a starving people hostage, willing to "exchange" them only for American diplomatic concessions. Should Washington pay the price? And what should weigh in the balance? The long-term danger of rewarding such political cynicism? (But there is the immediate danger of millions of deaths.) The usefulness of the "China card" in balancing Soviet power? The problem of diplomatically propping up Phnom Penh and Hanoi on the eve of possible conflict over Thailand or even renewed fighting with China?

There are no obvious answers, and much in this whole business must remain speculation to the outsider. It can only be guaranteed that someday the archives will be scrutinized to see whether Washington was faithful to Mr. Vance's statement that nothing else laid greater claim to American concern and action. Meanwhile there are several guiding principles for Washington and for U.S. citizens:

1. The best hope for Cambodians still appears to rest with successful negotiations with Phnom Penh. Recognition may be out of the question, but Washington, however reluctantly,

Agencies Aiding Cambodians

The following agencies are providing goods and supplies for Cambodian refugees in Thailand. Those wanting to contribute to the Cambodian relief effort may write to one of them.

American Friends Service Committee
For Cambodia
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

American National Red Cross
International Services
Cambodia Relief
17th and D Streets
Washington, D.C., N.W. 20006

CARE
Fund for Cambodians
660 First Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

Catholic Relief Services
For Cambodia
1011 First Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Church World Service
Cambodia Relief Fund
Elkhart, Ind. 46515

Committee to Aid Indochinese Refugees
211 East 43rd Street—Suite 1401
New York, N.Y. 10017

International Rescue Committee
For Cambodia
386 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

Oxfam—America
For Cambodia
302 Columbus Avenue
Boston, Mass. 02116

Unicef
U.S. Committee for Unicef
Cambodian Relief
331 East 38th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees
Cambodian Refugees
UNHCR Regional Office
U.N. Headquarters
Room C301
New York, N.Y. 10017

World Vision
Cambodia Relief
919 West Huntington Drive
Monrovia, Calif. 91016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should risk giving that regime some increased diplomatic stature if the survival of so many can result.

2. There should be a reasonable time limit for pursuing those negotiations, and Washington should be developing contingency plans for possible failure. The U.S. should seriously consider the proposals for action that deviate from standard relief operations; thinking in routine patterns may be the greatest enemy of all. We have grave doubts about unilateral actions but have never opposed them—not even military ones, let alone humanitarian ones—*in principle*. They should not be ruled out in this crisis.

3. Even in the absence of a definite proposal and complete knowledge, citizens should not let national concern flag. They should hector their congressional representatives. They should question presidential candidates, including the one in the White House. They should encourage religious leaders to follow the example of Father Hesburgh in speaking out boldly. They should demand that the media not let the story slip into the middle pages because starvation is only dismal and not dramatic. It is a crime to talk about a second holocaust if the talk—again—becomes a substitute for action.

IMAGES OF KENT STATE

The four students slain at Kent State as this decade began were memorialized recently, hundreds of miles from the grassy slope where they fell. A brief ceremony at Princeton University dedicated a bronze statue by George Segal. It depicts the bearded figure of Abraham raising his knife over the kneeling bound figure of Isaac. "I chose the image of Abraham and Isaac," Segal said, "despite its sexual sado-masochism, and in spite of the conflict of the generations, because it deals with mercy and compassion and has a happy ending. There are reasons for that on which we should reflect."

The statue was commissioned in Ohio and was meant to stand at Kent State, but university officials rejected it. Their reasons (like this comment) had to do not with its execution but with its choice of symbolism. They felt that violence should not be commemorated by an image of violence. They proposed instead a partially nude woman pleading with a soldier.

One can see their point without agreeing with them. The story of Abraham and Isaac is an intransigent story, not calculated to comfort. At its heart is an outrage whose absoluteness is the only human measure of the absoluteness of God's will. It is something rather different and larger than "sexual sado-masochism," we think, and the happy ending does not arise from any of the human values that the story calls so sharply into question. It arises simply from that same, absolute will of God. It is a story to make us tremble. Maybe the Kent State administrators knew this better than Mr. Segal.

How much easier is their chosen image of violence softened by erotic sentimentality. How much kinder to our still smarting consciences. The outrage that Abraham and Isaac bring up close is distanced. It is, in fact, resolved into the familiar iconography of Mars and Venus so favored by artists and patrons of the Renaissance and Baroque.

But it won't work. The pleading female figure calls up the image of another female figure pleading and cursing in vain over a fallen student. That image from the day of the Kent State slayings is one of the best known journalistic photographs of the decade, and it defies any aesthetic response or rendering less absolute than itself. Only something on the order of Abraham and Isaac can stand up to it.

In 1968 the poet Robert Bly suggested that in electing Nixon America turned to a familiar figure from the fifties and asked him for sleep. What sleep there was brought nightmares that some of us still cannot confront.

'A SECULAR SAINT'

If there was dissent on the decision to award the Nobel Peace Prize to Mother Teresa of Calcutta, we did not see it. One of the generous tributes to the Roman Catholic nun was editorial praise in the *New York Times*, an editorial which referred to her in head and text as "a secular saint," a phrase which the *Times* obviously intended as praise but which strikes us as odd, to say the least. We're not completely sure what a secular saint would be, but we suppose it would be someone who practiced heroic virtue without religious inspiration—a very good person acting without religious motivation. If Mother Teresa is a secular saint, what is one to make of the facts of her life: that in her early years she became a nun and left her native land to go as a religious missionary to a foreign country, that she has lived the life of a dedicated religious under vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience all her adult life, that her very daily routine is one built around the divine liturgy, meditation, and prayer, that in middle life she founded a new religious order, the Missionaries of Charity, that has thousands of members who care for the poorest of the poor in countries all over the world. This is secular? In short, if Mother Teresa is a secular saint, we can only suppose that to the *Times* a non-secular or religious saint would be someone floating by on a pink cloud.

Department of Education

OPEN EDUCATION

THROW THE TIME-SERVERS OUT

THE CREATION of a Department of Education hasn't stirred much enthusiasm, except among activists from the National Education Association. It was they who lobbied it through the Congress, cashing in on well cultivated political chits, and they who secured President Carter's support by a well-timed endorsement of his election. For the rest of us, it appears as little more than rearranging boxes on an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organizational chart. But such need not be the case.

In fact, and for reasons probably not contemplated by sponsors of the measure, the creation of the new agency affords the president the opportunity to make an extraordinary contribution to the improvement of education in America. He could can the lot of them. Oh, not all of them, of course. But most of them. Most of whom? Most of the dull, uninspired, underworked and overpaid bureaucrats who comprise the bulk of the Office of Education. The ones who got there via a well-traveled, good ol' boy route. Who started off as Physical Education coaches, and perhaps after a losing season were made assistant principals. Who faithfully returned to the state teacher's college summer after summer until, by dint of perseverance rather than merit, they secured first a master's and then, that most dishonored degree, a doctorate in education. And who played politics well enough eventually to become school superintendents, or some like position, before entering the valhalla of such educators, the Office of Education.

It's a depressing place to be. This country faces a crisis of public confidence in public education more severe than at any time since its founding. In most major cities, the middle class, white and black, have all but abandoned public schools. The voucher system may well pass in California. And almost everywhere it is hard to overstate the disgust that parents feel over the quality of education their children are receiving. This despite the fact we are spending more in real dollars for educating fewer children than at any time in the postwar era. While it isn't fair to ascribe the blame for all of that to the stultifying hand of federal bureaucracy, it must be admitted that the monster has not been helpful.

Credible doubts exist as to the effectiveness of a host of federally sponsored remedies for social and educational problems. Whether it is busing or bilingual, Title One or Title Nine, critics can exhibit devastating examples of bureaucratic stupidity, red tape and willful ignorance which time and again have discredited legitimate efforts to redress social injustice and enhance educational opportunities for the disadvantaged. More to the point, far from assuring greater equality in education, they have actually diminished freedom and merit so far as to call into question the fundamental premise of education in a democracy.

What is to be done? Throughout the new department, which will include not only the Office of Education, but much of the Office of Civil Rights as well, vitrually all of the professional positions should be declared open and subject to competition. The federal employee unions will scream. Those who worship at the altar of civil service will rage. But with skillful reorganization and writing of job descriptions, it can be done. Then the selections should truly be made on merit, summoning forth the best people both within and without the educational community,

At the same time, the president should assemble a group of thoughtful citizens *who have no vested interest in the present system*, and charge them to undertake a full review of this country's educational policies. We deserve to know what works, and what doesn't, and how it can be made better. Care must be taken that such a policy review does not become the self-serving document that so many previous commissions have produced. But a fresh wind of thought could do much to restore confidence in our ability to seek excellence.

Finally, as a society we ought to relieve the educational system of being the dumping ground for all our pet diversions. Let them teach. Let them learn. Our failure to do so may prevent us from doing anything else very well at all.

HUGH MAGISTER

(Hugh Magister, a pseudonym, is a government official familiar with the Office of Education.)

Soviet census

USSR POPULATION BOMB

CENTRAL ASIANS ON THE RISE

THE PRELIMINARY results of the latest Soviet census, conducted in the week between January 17 and 24, 1979, show a marked decline in the growth of the Slavic population and a dramatic increase in the number of Soviet Central Asians. If this trend continues, the USSR will experience a number of political crises in the first decades of the twenty-first century.

Since the last census in 1970, the Soviet population, which consists of over one hundred nationalities, increased by 9 percent—from approximately 241,000,000 to 262,442,000. Each region and nationality, however, grew at a different pace. The Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Russian republics grew by only 6 percent; the Baltic republics, by 7-9 percent. But the Caucasus and Central Asia experienced even greater growth: Georgia—7 percent, Kazakhstan—13 percent, Azerbaidzhan—18 percent, Kirghistan—20 percent, Armenia—22 percent, Turkmenia—28 percent, Uzbekistan—30 percent, and Tadzhikistan—31 percent! Assuming that these statistics are correct, the Russian share of the total Soviet population declined from 53.4 percent in 1970 to approximately 52 percent at present.

Central Asians have been growing at a phenomenal average rate of over 3 percent annually. This high birth rate, with a low death rate, gives the Central Asians one of the highest rates of natural increase in the world. By the year 2000, demographers expect the Kirghizes, Turkmens, Uzbeks and Tadzhiks to triple their present size, and the Azerbaidzhanis and Kazakhs to double theirs. These nations will then number over 80 million, a gain of almost 30 million since 1979, and will constitute over one-quarter of the Soviet population, instead of the present 18 percent. (The Russians will increase by only 10 percent, but their share of the population will fall to 44 percent). The Soviet Union will then most likely contain the fifth largest concentration of Muslims in the world (after Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Turkic Central Asians are, for the most part, a homogeneous group of people, who still retain their traditional way of life and who are immune from assimilating into the Russian cultural sphere. At the turn of the twentieth century, the peoples of Central Asia had little sense of their national identity. The Soviet policy of dividing Turkestan into separate republics and of developing alphabets and literary languages for the Muslims in the 1920s thwarted the spread of Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic movements. During the Soviet period, the Muslims came to identify themselves with their respective republics. But, due to their rapid growth, their resentment against the influx of migrants from the European areas of the USSR, and the increasing realization of their colonial status, the ethnic assertiveness of the Central Asians will most likely intensify and even lead to the revival of Pan-Islamic or Pan-Turkic movements with the desire to join the Islamic states bordering the Soviet Union. The recent revolution in Iran will most likely help revive Soviet Pan-Islamic aspirations.

As a result of the ethnic shift in the Soviet population growth and the emergence of Central Asian assertiveness, the Muslims will exert great pressure on the political structure, the economy and the military preparedness of the Soviet Union, testing the Russian-dominated Soviet government's ability to control its restive non-Russian areas.

Greater pressure for the admission of Central Asians into the leadership and policy-making circles will be one of the most important consequences of this demographic change. The newly-promoted Central Asian elite will most likely attempt to allocate more capital investment for Soviet Central Asia, which in contrast to the country's Russian and European areas, has the lowest standard of living and education. The construction of new housing, the expansion and renovation of the region's public services and the increased expenditures for education in non-Russian languages will strain the Soviet economy, already overburdened by the demands of its military-industrial complex. If a radical relocation of industry from the west to the east is not implemented soon, this population shift will intensify both the manpower shortage in the European USSR and the growing pressure of large, immobile labor reserves in Soviet Central Asia. It will also harm the productivity of the Soviet economy. This downturn in productivity will increase Soviet dependence on agricultural and technological imports from the West, contributing to the latter's spiraling inflation.

Most importantly, the high Muslim birth rate will potentially alter the ethnic composition of the Soviet armed forces. The conscription of more non-Russians, whose knowledge of Russian is minimal and whose allegiance on issues important to Muslims may be at variance with the policies of the central government, will compromise its combat readiness and reliability, especially in Asia. These changes will have serious ecoomic and political consequences not only on the future balance of power within the Soviet Union, but also on future Soviet relations with the Islamic Third World, China and the United States.

GEORGE LIBER

(George Liber is Ph.D. candidate in Soviet and East European history at Columbia University and co-editor of Nonconformity and Dissent in the Ukrainian SSR, 1955-1975: An Annotated Bibliography.)

Of several minds: *Abigail McCarthy*

NATIVE SOIL

I LOVE IT BUT I DO NOT HOLD IT SACRED

OUR JOHN PAUL II has a gift for the symbolic gesture. It is one reason that his communication with us seems to be on a deeper level than any we could establish with words. The gestures speak to the universal, to that which is common in our experience as children of God. Yet there is one of his gestures which I feel has little resonance in American hearts—that of kissing the soil when he arrives in a new land.

It is not that it is not a deeply felt gesture. Country and land are sacred to the man whose ancestors for more than a thousand years have lain in consecrated Polish earth. For him one owes one's personhood to a native land as one does to father and mother. Separation from that land is tragic. On the deepest level he can only conceive it in that way as was apparent in his consoling remarks to the Poles in Chicago . . . this, despite his almost lyric description of our "new unity," an idea which certainly appeals to him intellectually. But the mystical pull of native soil remains strong in him. It is a very Slavic trait—(think of "Mother Russia" like a refrain in 19th century literature)—and one which has proved providential for Poland. And it is a beautiful trait. But not ours.

I was preparing a talk on my Minnesota heritage when the Pope touched ground in Boston and the speculation aroused in me by his gesture—which had not seemed so strange to me when he arrived in Ireland and Mexico—colored my thinking from then on. Was Minnesota my native land in this rather mystical sense? It is quite literally in my bones, nourished by Minnesota air and food and water, as were those of my parents and grandparents and great-grandparents, too. But it was not so much the land from which we have sprung as the land to which we came—our promised land. Like most nineteenth century first-generation immigrants, my great-grandparents seemed to spend very little time yearning for that which they had left behind. There was a strong oral tradition in our family but I am struck now by the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fact that the stories passed down to me were all about the journey down the Great Lakes and the rivers of Wisconsin and then up the Mississippi, and of homesteading on the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi. It was as if they began life with the journey and the adventure and the new home. It was left for those of us in the succeeding generations to search out the heritage "beyond the water" and the far-flung family spread here and there.

Minnesota has surely shaped us. For good or ill it is for us forever the measure of all other places. I know that my sense of being a woman, of being Catholic, of being American, are conditioned by the Minnesota experience, as those of others are by New England or California or Alabama. My understanding of community, of education, of political order and process, grew out of the Minnesota experience.

To generalize about Minnesota—or any homeland—is risky. The reflections of any one writer needs the correction of others—not in the sense of denying my reality but of offering their own. Minnesota, it seems to me, more than many other states, is a geographic entity. It is bounded on almost all sides by rivers—by the St. Croix, and the Mississippi on the east, the Pigeon, the Rainy (and the border lakes) on the north, the Red River to the west. Its southern quarter is formed by the Minnesota and its tributaries. Its early settlement took place during two centuries when rivers were at once barriers and paths of travel. As the effusions of many nineteenth century eastern writers bear witness, its natural beauty was legendary during the years of exploration and settlement. Longfellow provided it with a mythology; folk balladeers sang, "Come to Minnesota, the glory of the West!" California may be an idea; Minnesota is definitely a place.

Minnesota evokes strong reactions. I have been told by one of those whose business it is to comment on the national scene that, outside of Texas, it is the most chauvinistic of states; by another that it is the most pleasure-loving. A Boston reporter fled the scene some years ago insisting that he could not be comfortable in a place where huge men clad in sheepskin-lined coats (Oh yes, Minnesota winters *are* cold), drank "dishpan sized" martinis and ate platter-sized steaks. Yet Wolf von Eckhardt, Washington-based critic of urban art, writes that Minnesota has learned to make its cities beautiful (they were always clean), and that it has a great variety and high level of theater, music and all the performing arts available to almost all of its citizens. It is the tradition in Minnesota that "culture" belongs to the many, not to an elite, as T.S. Eliot discovered when he came to read his difficult poetry and thirteen thousand turned out to hear him.

Minnesotans tend to take educational opportunity for granted; it has always been available. The woman's struggle, although not essentially different, does not seem so dire; there seems to be more attention to practical change. In the history of many Minnesota families the women were better-educated than the men since it was they who became school teachers while the men carried on with the family farm or business.

And yet Minnesota's best known writers do not give a good report of it. In *Main Street* and *Babbitt* Sinclair Lewis made its small towns a byword for bigotry, narrowness, materialism and hypocrisy. F. Scott Fitzgerald's sensibility was always flawed by the superficial values of the Minnesota rich, heirs to the plunderers of a continent. His assent to, and dissent from, those values set up his disastrous inner conflict.

Minnesota's most talented achievers, like Fitzgerald, do not seem to transplant well. They are given to brilliant starts, and great effects, but they seem to diminish with time. One can document this in lives as various as those of Stassen (once a white knight), Judy Garland and Bob Dylan. They come from a matrix of simplicity and dreams—where social change has been rapid and where all things seem possible.

I think of all these things and think that Minnesota is part of me—but only a part. I love it, but I do not hold it sacred, except as all things are sacred. And I extend that to America. It seems to me that this is a pre-condition for the kind of unity of which the pope spoke to us—"a demanding unity" which forms a country from the many not united by blood, and the unity which forms a universal church.

ABIGAIL McCARTHY

Of several minds: *Frank Getlein*

THE INVASION OF CUBA

A BREAKTHROUGH IN WARFARE

I DON'T KNOW about you, but I go back to when *Cuba Libre* was a rum and Coca Cola with a slice of lime. I've always assumed, without really knowing, that the name and the drink came out of our war of liberation for Cuba against Spain. It isn't really that much of a drink but it is certainly the best thing you can do with Coca Cola. Those were the heady days of the Rough Riders charging—on foot—up San Juan Hill and William Randolph Hearst advising his combat artist, Frederick Remington, "you provide the pictures, I'll provide the war." Somehow, we've never gotten back to that high romantic level of Cuban-American relations. For years we supported the military dictator Batista in what appeared to have been a tri-partite alliance of him, the CIA and the Mafia to run brothels and casinos in Havana, allowing Batista to be a big cheese, the Mafia to cut the crap game and the agency to tap in on any American high rollers who might be subject to blackmail.

That ended, of course, when Castro came out of the hills and took over, as you can see in the late middle of *Godfather II*. We know so little of the Mafia's reaction that there may not have been any at all, just a sophisticated acceptance that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sometimes you lose. Less sophisticated, the CIA has been doing its Rover Boys number with Cuba ever since. It is hard to choose the most ridiculous strike the fun-loving lads at Langley have mounted against the Red Terror of the Caribbean. Most observers would back the Bay of Pigs with its still-astounding assumption that given a choice the Cuban people would turn on Castro and rally 'round Howard Hunt and his Watergate weirdos. Personally I'm inclined toward the one where the spy masters had their house alchemists whip up an updated version of Yakov's elexir formulated to make El Supremo's beard fall out, thus, according to CIA thinking, so to speak, causing the Cubans to throw him out and demand that Richard Helms come to rule o'er them.

Anyway, none of these little lunacies did us any serious harm. Some people got killed here and there, of course, and the United States invariably looked ridiculous but there's a case to be made that a superpower ought to look ridiculous from time to time. It preserves some sense of proportion. One gradually realized that the CIA was like the Peace Corps: the point wasn't actually to gather information, which clearly any J-school graduate could do better, but to keep the eternal preppies off the street where their potential for doing harm was incalculable. On balance, you have to admit the Agency has accomplished that aim. There has been the occasional spillover, with people poisoned by that alchemist and journalists having their phones tapped and their houses broken into. But all that doesn't put that red ink on the balance sheet to offset the enormous social good of keeping a couple of generations of people like Allen Dulles, James Angleton, Helms and Hunt playing their own games and not playing games on the rest of us.

Abruptly, however, Cuba ceased to be a playpen for the kiddies and went grown-up with the invasion by the marines. The United States military may be incompetent and over-paid, as its leaders never tire of demonstrating, but it does have to be taken seriously in ways the loonies at Langley do not. It's big, for one thing, enormous. It's like an elephant in the living room. You can't ignore it. For another, it has, literally, the power to destroy us all. You certainly can't ignore that. For these and other reasons too numerous to mention, when the Pentagon does something, attention must be paid.

When attention is paid—which, I must say, wasn't done much by the rest of the press—that elaborate, expensive and totally successful invasion of Cuba turns out to be a turn in a new direction, one loaded with potential for being the best thing that happened to American policy, indeed, any superpower foreign policy, since Senator George Aiken (Rep.-Vermont) suggested we declare ourselves the winners in Vietnam and clear out some four or five years before we did exactly that. What the marines' Cuba invasion did was to resurrect the old Kwakiutl Indian custom of the potlatch as foreign policy and offhand I can't think of a better model.

For those of you who have come late to American Indian studies, I ought to explain the potlatch. Until we destroyed the culture of the area, the Pacific Northwest Indians used to throw great parties for one another called the potlatch. The name has nothing to do with the English meaning of either of its syllables. At the potlatch the host would demonstrate his wealth and his insouciance by throwing a lot of valuable objects into the sea. There was, you will recall, a Renaissance Roman papal candidate who electioneered by throwing gold dinner plates into the Tiber, but the wily *Papabilo* had previously positioned nets under the water and recovered the glitteries to dine again. The Kwakiutl did it for keeps.

So did we, more or less, when we charged ashore at Guantanamo those short weeks ago. You recall the circs. The dread Russians had been fearlessly revealed by Senator Frank Church as having placed a "combat brigade" of some 3000 killer Cossacks in Cuba, ready to strike without warning at the Nixon-Rebozo Memorial Park in Key Biscayne. The Republic was in danger. There was hemming. There was hawing. Strong statements were issued. It was all like one of those autumnal weekends in mid-late thirties: should we take in a flick or stay home and hear Hitler on the Marconi? Difficult days. Hard decisions.

Then the military, blessed, cut through it all. After a three- or four-hour delay to allow network television crews better light for their cameras—and, a marine spokesman actually spoke, to avoid the chance of soldiers getting hurt by doing it in the dark, our troops moved relentlessly in toward Guantanamo, leapt into the waves, hit the beaches, took positions, lost not a man, showed the Soviets what a free nation can do. In short, we invaded ourselves, quite possibly an historic first.

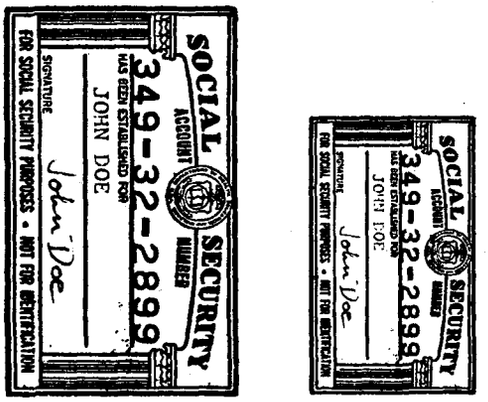
The possibilities of this potlatch posse are endless. If the Germans, for instance—should one say, *when* the Germans?—recreate themselves as a whole nation and begin again to threaten the 360 degrees of non-Germans around them, the Army can sweep ashore all along, say, Fire Island, and baffle the Boches. If the Japanese once more begin invading *tout* Pacifica with troops instead of just industrial products, the Pentagon can lay on a surprise landing at Malibu and Catalina, the ancient goals of the Vietcong which, somehow, they've never made. In such an eventuality, we could even land in Kwakiutl land itself in a rare demonstration of historical sensitivity.

Nor need this daring innovation remain an American monopoly. The Russians, after all, have faithfully copied us in every particular of the arms race, matching us step by step in the Kwakiutl fashion of throwing more and more money into the sea of arms expenditures. Why should they balk now? Odds are they won't. Once they grasp exactly what we did at Guantanamo, they'll do likewise. The next time, for example, a Czech playwright announces his soul is his own, the Soviets, instead of invading Prague, may steam out into the Gulf of Finland, do a U-turn, steam back in and seize the Summer Palace. If death comes to Tito, as it must to all men, instead of moving over the mountains toward Belgrade, the Russians, following our example, may come in on a Black Sea dawn and occupy the Crimea. The possibilities are endless for both the great, as they are mysteriously called, powers.

FRANK GETLEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'A TIMEBOMB TICKING UNDER THE ECONOMY'



Social Security—will it make it?

JOSEPH O'DONOGHUE

"A TIME BOMB ticking under the whole U.S. economy" is how *Time* magazine described the status of the nation's Social Security program at the beginning of this year. A month later *U.S. News and World Report* ran a doomsday scenario under the heading *Social Security: Will It Be There When You Need It?* On three occasions this year the *New York Times* has recommended major reductions in Social Security benefits because the editors believe that benefit reduction is inevitable, and that any attempt to oppose reductions at this time would risk "far more destructive changes in the future."

How real is the crisis in Social Security? The distilled wisdom of some of the leading media suggests that the program is in deep trouble because of three related factors: 1) a steady growth in the number of retired beneficiaries; 2) continuing increases in their benefits which are annually adjusted to the inflation rate; 3) a decline in the size of the work force relative to the number of retired workers who are now supported by the Social Security payroll tax. The options appear to be obvious. Either the nation's workers must accept constant tax increases to support the program at its current level, or the scale of benefits must be reduced.

The total number of individuals entitled to benefits under Social Security has grown to the extent that one out of every seven Americans now receives some form of monthly support from the program. In a U.S. where 11 percent of the population is over 65 there are 18.6 million recipients of retirement benefits by reason of payroll participation in Social Security during their working career. An additional 13.2 million Americans qualify for Social Security benefits as survivors or dependents (husbands, wives, or children) of beneficiaries. Among these dependent beneficiaries are 817,500 college students who last year received an estimated $1.6 billion in benefits. 2.9 million Americans with job-incurred disabilities now obtain Social Security payments under legislation enacted in 1957. So wide is the growing network of beneficiaries that an estimated one out of three American families will experience a financial loss through any downward revision of the major Social Security benefits.

Since its inception in 1935 the entire system has been operating on a fund transfer basis; revenue received from this month's payroll tax becomes revenue used in next month's payment of benefits. Because there is no accumulation of assets the long-term obligations of the Social Security system can be reported as an astronomical one trillion dollars, a sum considerably greater than the entire national debt. In reality the obligation is less than awesome since a work force of 96 million is automatically taxed in every payroll check for an amount of revenue that will match the system's anticipated obligations for each year. Under tax rates legislated in 1977 the system is designed to be in balance each year for the remainder of this century.

The achievement of this constant balance between benefit payments and the tax revenue needed to finance the benefits will require staged increases in the payroll tax rate from 6.13 percent this year to 7.65 percent in 1990. In addition to mandating these new rates the 1977 tax legislation moved the system toward the capture of an equal percent of payroll tax from the upper middle class. Prior to the 1977 changes the tax had been lopsidedly regressive due to the low ceiling placed on the amount (the tax base) against which the tax rate was charged. For example, when the tax base was limited to $9,000 (year 1972) an individual earning that amount paid 5.2 percent Social Security tax on his or her entire earnings for the year. However, an individual then earning $18,000 paid the same amount of tax dollars as the less affluent worker since the top $9,000 of income was over the ceiling. The worker with greater income was thus acquiring eligibility for future Social Security benefits at a mere 2.6 percent of total salary, or one-half the rate imposed on less affluent workers with $9,000 in annual earnings.

The fact that the 1977 tax legislation represented a long

JOSEPH O'DONOGHUE, *a professor of sociology at Hofstra University on Long Island, has testified before congressional and state legislative committees on tax reform.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

overdue move toward progressivity in the Social Security tax has been almost universally overlooked by the popular media. By focusing on the admittedly large upward steps in the tax *base* from 1977 to 1981 it is possible to shock the public by reporting scheduled tax increases of over 100 percent within that four-year period. Individuals who have been annually earning $29,700 or more will see their Social Security tax move from $965.25 in 1977 to $1,975.05 in 1981. But increases of this magnitude will affect the salaries of no more than 15 percent of the work force, a segment that up to now has been able to acquire Social Security eligibility at a fraction of the general rate. The 85 percent of the working population with annual earnings well below the new ceilings on the tax base will have their Social Security taxes raised only to the extent of the percent changes in the tax rate, viz., 5.85 percent in 1977 to 6.65 percent in 1981. For families earning at or near the 1979 U.S. median family income level ($15,200) the actual dollar increases in the tax over the supposedly horrendous 1977-81 period will be $30 per year. For the average U.S. worker with an income of $11,000 in 1979 the dollar increases in Social Security taxes over 1978 will amount to approximately 17 cents per week.

But both the affluent and the less affluent worker are on common ground in raising questions as to the size of eventual retirement payments relative to the taxes imposed on a lifetime of earnings. This year the average retirement benefit is $3,454 for an individual and $4,800 for a married couple. The fact that these payments are tax free to their recipients is of significant benefit only for that small percent of retired workers with additional earnings sufficient to lift them up to an otherwise taxable level. But even this potential benefit is offset by the earnings limitation imposed on Social Security beneficiaries under 72. For every two dollars of earned income above $4,500 in 1979 the Social Security beneficiary suffers a loss of one dollar in the retirement payment.

From 1972 to 1979 the average payments for new retirees under Social Security rose 75 percent in the case of recipients with a record of minimum qualifying earnings, and 107 percent in the case of those with maximum earnings. During the same period the Consumer Price Index rose 56 percent. This period of gain in benefits relative to prices will not be repeated since its occurrence was due to a now corrected congressional oversight in the method of computing the inflation adjustment. But with future benefit increases now legislatively linked to movements in the Consumer Price Index the Social Security system has achieved a form of inflation protection which is absent from virtually every pension plan in the nation.

THE NATION was in the midst of the decade of the Great Depression when Social Security legislation was initially signed into law by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on August 14, 1935. At a time when the average American male at birth had a life expectancy of 60 years it was not difficult to finance a program which provided very modest retirement payments for the relatively small percent of the population which would live long enough (65 years) to collect benefits. A 2 percent tax (1 percent from employee, 1 percent from employer) on only the first $3,000 of earned income was sufficient to meet all payment demands on the program from 1937 to 1951.

The first major challenge to the financing of the system occurred in the early 1950s when male life expectancy in the U.S. reached 65 and continued to rise thereafter. The increase in funds paid to the expanding population over 65 was accommodated (1) by slowly raising both the tax rate and the tax base for Social Security, and (2) by gradually expanding the pool of tax-paying workers through adding previously uncovered sectors of the work force. By bringing new workers into the system at a rate faster than the increase in retirees it was even possible to finance some improvements in benefits and to add new forms of protection, e.g., Medicare for those over 65, without major advances in either the tax rate or the tax base.

Eventually, of course, the system had to mature. The great bulk of employees who had been added to the system in the middle of their working careers during the 1950s and the 1960s began to retire in the late 1970s. By that time the number of workers covered by Social Security had been expanded to include 94 percent of the entire working force of the nation. An immediate result was that extra revenue for the paying of benefits could no longer be gained through the addition of contributors formerly outside the system.

This ending of an easily tapped source of revenue occurred at a time when increasing longevity and falling birth rates were beginning to create major problems by adversely effecting the all-important ratio of workers to retirees. The fall in the U.S. fertility rate from 3.69 in 1957 to 1.72 in 1976 meant that each year a relatively smaller number of new workers began to pay Social Security taxes. At the opposite end of the spectrum a rising life expectancy rate (73 years at birth in 1977) placed constantly accelerating demands on the payments of benefits.

Analysts of U.S. fertility rates have recently reported some evidence of a stabilizing or possible slight increase in future fertility levels. And it now seems likely that life expectancy will not continue to move upward at the pace experienced in the last two decades. But twenty years of growth in the spread between falling birth rates and increasing longevity has shaped the U.S. population in a manner that will have profound impact on the amount of tax support needed for Social Security into the next century. This year there are three Americans receiving Social Security benefits for every ten workers who pay Social Security taxes. On the assumption that 65 years will remain as the major point of retirement it is possible to anticipate that there will be five Americans receiving Social Security benefits for every ten workers some four decades from now.

IN THE 1976 New Hampshire primary Ronald Reagan made the mistake of suggesting that retirement payments under Social Security might have to be reduced at some future time because of the tax pressure which these payments placed on the current members of the work force. No presidential candidate in 1980 is likely to make a similar statement in view of the vote loss attributed to Reagan because of his remarks on reducing retirement benefits. The Carter administration's response to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what it perceives as a crisis in Social Security financing has been to present Congress with a list of possible Social Security cuts in areas other than retirement benefits. Specifically, the White House has proposed: 1) placing a cap on disability payments at a lower level; 2) phasing out the benefits paid to college-attending children of beneficiaries; 3) imposing an earlier (16 years) cut-off for benefits to children of widowed parents; 4) ending Social Security retirement payments for "double dippers," viz., the substantial number of civil service retirees who have managed to acquire additional retirement benefits (beyond their generous federal pension) by working the absolute minimum amount needed to qualify for Social Security coverage.

The Carter administration's proposals have not been warmly received by members of Congress who are facing election campaigns in 1980. Although most of the proposed reductions would not affect current beneficiaries, they would have considerable impact on the level of payments expected by individuals who become eligible in the immediate future. For example, the administration's plan to phase out benefits now assigned to over 800,000 college students is politically unattractive in view of the long-standing anticipation of those benefits by beneficiaries with children nearing college age. Accounts of widespread "double dipping" by retired civil service personnel may arouse the ire of taxpayers, but it is an anticipated benefit for members of Congress and their staff whose working careers almost inevitably combine private employment under Social Security with their congressional employment under a civil service pension. Carter's plan to reduce benefits paid to widows with children is particularly unappealing to representatives who see their political vulnerability increased in return for only minimal savings to the Social Security program.

The potential savings appear to be much greater in the cuts which the White House has proposed for disabled workers. In its report to Congress on Social Security the administration expressed considerable concern over what it interpreted as soaring increases in the level of payments made to workers with job-incurred disabilities. In 1970 there were 1.4 million disabled American workers receiving $3.1 billion in annual payments under the Social Security program. By 1978 the number had doubled to 2.8 million and the benefit level had quadrupled to $13 billion. Social Security Commissioner Stanford G. Ross estimated that the administration's plan to lower the benefit rate for future qualifiers could save approximately one billion dollars per year by 1984 without any lowering of payments made to beneficiaries already on the rolls.

Glossed over in the administration's report were pertinent facts regarding the growth rate of the particular programs whose current cost is so disturbing to the White House. For example, since 1977 the *rate* of new awards under the disability program has been steadily falling; the latest rate of disability awards represents the lowest in the history of the program. The trend toward less applications each year was observed and its continuation predicted over three years ago by the then Commissioner of Social Security, Robert M. Ball, who linked the drop to the successful handling of the backlog of disability cases existing prior to the enactment of legislation authorizing wider coverage in the early 1970s. In effect the Carter administration is urging a major cut in future disability payments under the implicit (but erroneous) assumption that an avalanche of new applications can be expected to financially strain the program.

The technical jargon used by administration representatives also contributes to a clouding of the real level of expenditures under Social Security. Former HEW Secretary Joseph Califano testified that in a recent year 6 percent of the disability beneficiaries received Social Security payments that were greater than their *pre-disability earnings*. Only someone familiar with the language of the Social Security administration would realize that Mr. Califano was referring to credited average lifetime earnings under Social Security, a sum based on the amount of income against which Social Security taxes are extracted each year. In the computing of disability payments an average of such amounts would almost inevitably be far below the actual amount a worker earned in those years. For example, in the early 1950s the amount of credited earnings under Social Security was $3,600, while in the mid 1960s it was $4,800. The use of this low threshold indicator has produced the current situation in which the available maximum benefit to the family of a disabled worker is under $600 a month.

The *New York Times* became a casualty of this language fog when in a recent (July 19) editorial it stated that "many people are eligible for larger payments than their *wages*" (emphasis added), and then proceeded to endorse the administration's proposed cuts on the grounds that they reasonably limited benefits to a person's maximum take-home pay prior to becoming disabled. In reality the bill suggested by the administration would limit benefits to the lower of either 80 percent of an individual's credited average earnings, or 150 percent of the individual's primary benefit under Social Security. The munificent sounding 150 percent of primary benefit meant an average disability support of $330 a month in 1978. By reserving the option of selecting the lower of two already minimal calculations the administration could guarantee for itself a reduction of at least 15 percent in future benefit levels paid to Americans incapable of further employment because of a job-incurred disability. In real dollars the bill would cut disability coverage by amounts that would bring many disabled workers to an income approaching the poverty level. The estimated savings to the government for 1980 would be perhaps $700 million, or approximately one-half of one percent of anticipated revenue from the payroll tax for that year. The one billion in savings cited by the administration as occurring in 1984 would be realized only if there were an immediate reversal in the current downward trend of disability applications.

A similar misreading of trends by the Carter administration is evident in its recommended reduction in benefits to the college age children of Social Security beneficiaries. Last year's allotment of $1.6 billion to these students represents the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continuation of a steady climb in benefits paid since the institution of the program in 1965. The White House has expressed particular concern over a recent Government Accounting Office study indicating that approximately 100,000 of the students are receiving combined assistance from Social Security and from HEW that reaches an amount greater than the actual costs of their education.

A closer look at the data suggests that the relatively modest Social Security benefits when joined to low income HEW grants could exceed educational expenses only for that fraction of the college age population with access to two years of very low-cost community college education. For the vast majority of these students, who have one parent either deceased or out of the work force by retirement or disability, the grants represent a limited duration return of a benefit earned by a payroll-taxed parent throughout a working career. The Carter administration's attempt to reduce the benefits seems particularly ill-timed in view of the certain reduction of pressures on the payment system when the college age population falls by 25 percent in the 1980s.

IUN ONE SENSE THE Social Security reductions poposed by the White House appear to be rather modest. In their totality they amount to less than 2 percent of benefit payments anticipated for next year. They do not affect basic retirement payments whose continuation at inflation-adjusted levels will allegedly be strengthened by the reductions proposed in other areas.

But the proposed cuts can also be perceived as a key landmark in the future development of the Social Security program because their enactment would be a victory for Senator Russell B. Long, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and other long-time advocates of confining Social Security funding to whatever revenue can be raised by the single instrument of the payroll tax. The funds available each year to the program can be rigorously controlled because of the established linkage between Social Security benefits and a predetermined percent of the nation's payroll. For a short period in 1977 it seemed that the White House would follow House Speaker Tip O'Neill and other liberal Democrats in efforts to make general tax revenue available to fund Social Security programs. The proposal by congressional liberals called for the use of treasury funds as temporary loans to the system whenever a slowdown in the economy led to a drop in taxes gained by the system. Opponents of the measure regarded it as a dangerous precedent which would offer too many opportunities to increase benefits through the constant availability of bail-out money.

The 1977 tax bill solved the Social Security "crisis" of that year by keeping the system within the confines of whatever funds could be raised through the mechanism of the payroll tax. The continued use of this device as the sole support of the program made it necessary to increase both the tax rate and the tax base in order to preserve a strict balance between tax payments and tax benefits throughout the 1980s. "Damn it," Speaker O'Neill told the AP after the passage of the bill, "we're the only nation in the world that doesn't use general revenue in some way for retirement benefits."

Almost all the pension plans in the nation have had the real value of their payouts cut by more than one-half in the last five years.

It is ironic that the confinement of Social Security revenue to the payroll tax now constitutes an obstacle to further increases in the benefits provided by the program. Until the late 1970s the payroll tax produced a growing and easily tapped source of revenue. Expanded benefits such as assistance to college students and wider disability coverage were successfully introduced in Congress on the basis that the new additions could be easily supported by relatively modest increases in a tax with a (then) low profile. At the same time the expanded benefits could be used to impress the thirty- to forty-year-old workers who for the first time began to pay Social Security taxes through their inclusion in an expanding system. These new members were told that without being lifelong contributors they could at age 65 draw benefits to be paid by the contributions of workers then in the labor force. Each congressional passage of improved payments to beneficiaries added to the marketability of the system since such actions collectively established an atmosphere in which ever higher levels of future benefit payments were anticipated.

The fact that the golden era of expansion in Social Security benefits has ended is perhaps most evident in the determination of 2.8 million federal employees to avoid future inclusion in the system. In return for a 7 percent withholding tax levied against annual earnings, a federal worker with 30 years of service can retire with benefits well above those provided to Social Security participants at age 65. The superior benefits are made possible by a 75 percent subsidy directed to federal pensions from the general tax revenue of the nation.

A SOLUTION to the current problems in the funding of Social Security takes on special urgency because of comparable problems in the private pension plans available to American workers. From its start the Social Security system was designed as a form of *supplementary* retirement assistance which would be added to money coming from private pensions and individual savings in order to provide an individual with an adequate support system in the post-retirement years. This hope for a total support system has not yet materialized. The U.S. level of personal savings now ranks last among the leading industrialized nations of the world. Over half of all employees in the nation are not covered by any form of pension plan. Among existing programs the number of retirement policies adequately indexed against inflation is estimated to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

range from 3 percent to 7 percent. In the absence of a mechanism of adjustment for inflation almost all the pension plans in the nation have had the real value of their payouts cut by more than one-half in the last five years of high inflation rates.

Legislation passed by Congress in 1974 to eliminate abuses and insure stability in the management of private pension plans is now regarded as having contributed to a reduction in the total number of pension plans in the nation; many firms confronted with new legal responsibilities in the management of their pension funds simply opted to drop their programs rather than comply. The nation's relatively small number of substantial pension programs are almost exclusively confined to large, generally unionized, industries such as steel or auto production where long-term employees with above average incomes can rely on a fixed pension payment after retirement. Unions which have attempted to introduce the improvement of pensions for currently retired workers as an item in contract negotiations have been successfully blocked by court decisions ruling that management need not make the issue subject to negotiation. In spite of occasional congressional legislation designed to encourage pension plans the vast majority of U.S. workers do not have any form of pension that can be relied upon for steady income in their post-retirement years, nor is there any indication that this situation will be changed in the near future.

The unavailability of comprehensive pensions plus the absence of adequate personal savings in the U.S. is frequently used as an augument for the expansion of Social Security benefits beyond their current level. It now seems certain that any substantial increase in future Social Security payments is linked to the use of general tax revenues as a supplement to revenue raised by the payroll tax, a move which is vigorously resisted by fiscal conservatives. Most Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress have long argued that any use of general taxes by the retirement program would open the flood gates of runaway spending for increased benefits. The current unavailability of general tax dollars to support benefits such as retirement payments and Medicare place the U.S. in a unique position among the over one hundred nations which now have some form of general support for retired workers. In most European nations the funding for programs comparable to Social Security is derived in almost equal parts from a special tax and from general taxes. The American Association of Retired Persons has pointed out that the single step of switching Medicare support from the payroll tax to general revenue would make it possible to slash $24 billion from the estimated $135 billion to be collected from this year's payroll tax. This type of switch could conceivably reduce the current payroll tax, now assessed in equal parts against both the individual employee and the employer, from its present level of 6.13 percent to approximately 5.0 percent.

Any lightening of the payroll tax rate could be expected to have an immediate effect in stimulating the economy by providing workers with additional income in each pay check. Employers would benefit through a corresponding reduction in their total labor costs, a savings which could be expected to result in lower product prices and additional employment possibilities. Walter Heller, the top economic advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, has estimated that perhaps $4 billion of the revenue lost to the treasury as a result of lowering the payroll tax would be recovered from revenue acquired through the corporate tax when employers reported less labor costs. The move toward reduction of the payroll tax would also be expected to have a long-term impact in lowering inflation rates when productivity rates began to rise relative to a drop in labor costs.

There is an outside chance that the Carter administration might be backed into a position of advocating the use of general revenue for Social Security programs. In late summer the president announced that he would prefer a cut in the payroll tax over a cut in the federal tax in the event that some form of tax cut became necessary to head off a deep recession. A cut in the payroll tax, if adopted by Congress, would effectively break the confining linkage of Social Security benefits to the payroll tax. Since it would be politically impossible to reduce major Social Security payments for current recipients in an election year, the continuation of Social Security payments at present levels would require the immediate (1980) infusion of general revenue. Once it was initiated this use of general tax support would be almost impossible to reverse, in the opinion of both advocates and opponents of the step.

The odds on the occurrence of the above scenario remain long because the president's impact on Social Security legislation in Congress is so low. There is no evidence to suggest that the president's endorsement of a cut in the Social Security tax would have any influence on legislators who, at this writing, have rejected all his proposed cuts in Social Security with the possible exception of some minor modifications in disability coverage.

SOCIAL SECURITY Commissioner Stanford G. Ross, a Carter appointment, recently declared that a long era of expansion of Social Security programs and rising benefits had ended, and that the 1980s must be a "decade of reform" in which Congress would mandate "painful adjustments." The Carter administration's inclination toward pessimistic statements about the future of Social Security is having a predictable impact on public confidence in the reliability of the program. This year a Louis Harris poll indicated that eight out of every ten Americans covered by Social Security are not sure that they will get the benefits they believe they have earned under the program. At the same time there appears to be an increasing number of Americans prepared to argue that they could better prepare for their own retirement if they invested on their own rather than contributed to the payroll tax.

The current record of benefit payments by Social Security provides little support for the view that an individual saver could outperform the system. A worker retiring in 1979 after contributing the maximum amount of tax to Social Security every year since its establishment in 1935 would have an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

individual account of slightly over $30,000 if the worker had consistently placed the amount of tax paid by the worker and the employer into a personal savings account. At a maximum investment rate of 10 percent the same individual upon retirement this year could expect far less in payouts from the personal investment than from Social Security. More importantly, the same individual relying on personal investment would have absolutely no protection against either the erosion of inflation or the escalation of medical expenses, two dangers from which an indexed Social Security system and Medicare benefits provide some protection.

There is even less likelihood that the young American worker now entering the Social Security system in his late teens or early twenties can outperform the system in total savings over a forty-five year working career. A recent (July, 1979) report by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has documented what can happen to the nation's savings in the area of life insurance programs. Seven out of every eight American families have purchased whole life insurance policies at a total cost of $14 billion, a sum slightly greater than the total bank savings of these same families. Whole life insurance policies have the obvious advantage of providing a certain amount of life insurance while simultaneously guaranteeing a fixed payment (savings) upon the maturity of the policy. But the combining of life insurance and a savings plan in the same package effectively disguises the fact each of the two items could be purchased separately at considerably better rates. The FTC has indicated that by paying an average of only 1.3 percent on the saving component of these policies the life insurance companies have been able to utilize 30¢ of every dollar collected for their overhead and their profits. A mere 15¢ of every dollar collected has been found sufficient to cover death benefits.

The destruction of savings potential is perpetuated because of the much larger commissions which the industry makes available to its employees for the successful sale of whole life insurance as compared to the far more cost-effective term life insurance policies which provide only life insurance over a fixed period. The commissions paid to salesmen of whole life can be generous because the dropout rate from such policies runs as high as 20 percent within the first five- to ten-year period. A purchaser who drops out during that initial period can expect a negative return on the savings component of the policy.

The 30 percent skim off by the insurance companies on these policies should be compared to the 98.3 percent rate by the Social Security administration on every dollar it collects through the payroll tax. At the same time Social Security provides almost all of the 96 million American work force with a disability insurance which is not available from the nation's insurance industry.

However, the Social Security system has a number of deficiencies which have been surprisingly resistant to correction. Instituted in a period in which only one out of six married women worked, the payment formula guarantees the spouse of a retired worker a sum equivalent to 50 percent of the worker's benefit regardless of whether the spouse ever contributed to the system as a taxed worker. In the current period in which 50 percent of all married women work it frequently happens that after several years of work a married woman ends up with Social Security benefits that are not much greater than the level of benefits (viz., 50 percent of the spouse's benefit) which she would have received if she had never worked. Defenders of the practice argue that Social Security merely places a protective floor underneath the spouse of a covered worker; if she earns greater benefits than that floor she gets those greater benefits, while if she earns less benefits than the floor she has the advantage of having her benefits raised to the level of the floor.

Effective help for Social Security appears to be coming from a startling reversal of American work habits now under way.

On balance the use of the 50 percent floor for spouses tends to reward those outside the system at the expense of long-time contributors to the system. Former HEW Secretary Joseph Califano has proposed a two-way split of whatever benefits are accumulated by a married couple in such a way that each retains a future right to 50 percent of their collective contribution to the system. This type of change would also begin to provide some future protection for divorced individuals who under current law can lose a spouse's benefit if married less than ten years.

EFFECTIVE HELP for the problems of the Social Security program appears to be coming from a startling reversal of American work habits now under way. As indicated earlier, Social Security was initiated in a period whose life expectancy rates (60 years for the average male) meant that the majority of workers would not live long enough to acquire the payout of benefits commencing at 65. The subsequent increase in longevity may be regarded as the single most important factor in leading to today's reputed crisis in Social Security. The Social Security-covered worker who retires at age 65 in 1979 can anticipate an average of 14 years of payments if male, or 17 years if female.

But will Americans continue to choose retirement in their mid-sixties as the majority now do? Last year for the first time in this decade there was a percent decline in the number of Americans choosing to retire in the age 62 to 65 category as compared to the total pool of workers in that category. Up to now approximately 50 percent of workers covered by Social Security have opted for early retirement (ages 62-64) and thereby accepted from Social Security a prorated cut in benefits that can amount to 20 percent for those retiring at 62. Last year's delay in retirement could be the first indication that there is a new generation of retirees who will opt to stay in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labor force until 70 because by so doing they can increase their eventual Social Security retirement payment. Under legislation scheduled to become effective in 1982 an individual who continues to work after 65 will receive an eventual 3 percent increase in benefits for every year of work beyond age 65 up to 70. (The current benefit for delayed retirement is an increase of 1 percent in additional benefits for every year of work after 65 to 70.) Also effective in 1982 is a legislated change by which the Social Security payment will take on the status of an annuity at age 70, thereby eliminating any ceiling on outside earnings as a condition for receiving full payments from Social Security.

One more indication of a national propensity to stay in the work force beyond 65 can be seen in the steady increase in recent years in the percent of retired workers who earn the maximum ($4,500 in 1979) additional salary now permitted without reduction of Social Security benefits. There is the possibility that the new level of continued work force participation should be attributed to economic necessity during the current period of rapid inflation; if inflation were to subside a reverse trend might occur in the case of Americans over 65. But a strong case can be made for the emergence of a continuing pattern of work beyond 65. Three million Americans over 65 are now working full time, and another four million are estimated to be seeking full time work according to the Department of Labor. Testifying before the House Select Committee an Aging in early 1978 pollster Louis Harris stated: "The basic, undeniable fact is that most Americans in the last quarter of the Twentieth Century want to work for the rest of their lives. . . . The alternative, a majority now feel, is to be relegated to the dump heap of an inactive, unproductive, and even desperate existence of simply waiting out their time to die." Last year the nation's largest retailing chain, Sears, Roebuck and Company with 400,000 employees, reported that 76.7 percent of the salaried and 60.6 percent of the hourly employees scheduled to retire elected to stay past age 65.

Each year of delayed retirement by members of the work force has obvious consequences in the financing of the Social Security system. Robert J. Meyers, Chief Actuary of the Social Security Administration from 1947 to 1970, has estimated that legislation raising the minimum retirement age for receiving Social Security benefits from 65 to 68 would reduce the total cost of retirement payments by approximately 20 percent. With absolutely no cut in benefits this would represent a savings for the program that is ten times greater than that proposed by the Carter administration through the reduction of benefits. Analysts considering the possibility of delaying retirement benefits to age 68 have invariably cited the need for legislation that would slowly phase in an extension of the working career, e.g., increasing the retirement age of 65 by one month per year over the next 36 years. But specific legislation to delay the retirement age need not be enacted if the current trend to later retirement is further sweetened by increases in eventual Social Security payments for every year of additional work past 65.

At first glance the extension of the work career beyond 65 could be regarded as a new form of worker exploitation. But from another perspective a second and different type of job after a relatively early retirement has become an attractive alternative for those Americans fortunate to enjoy a secure pension from either a unionized industry, e.g., steel, or from government service. The recent impetus behind successful legislation to raise the age of mandatory retirement from 65 to 70 came in large part from worker associations whose members were committed to some form of full-time employment beyond the arbitrary 65-year level. Herbert Bienstock and other Labor Department analysts are predicting a labor shortage in the mid-1980s when the nation will be confronted with a sudden shrinkage in the college age population which will fall by 25 percent in that decade. With the type of contraction in the number of young workers entering the labor force the U.S. economy can be expected to provide additional employment opportunities on the senior side of the working career. Medical data suggests that length of life and life satisfaction are increased through productive work experience after 65. What is good for the individual could prove to be very good for the society if alternative careers provide new outlets for the now under-utilized capabilities of individuals at the traditional retirement age.

It seems unlikely that Proposition 13 fever will become a permanent component of the American consciousness in view of the tax experience of all other industrialized nations at this point in time. The combined tax rate (federal, state, and local) of the U.S. now approximates 30 percent, the second lowest rate among the world's industrialized nations. Analysts who urge limits to benefits for the aged and the disabled on the basis that such assistance requires impossibly high tax levels seldom attempt to explain the prosperity of the Scandinavian nations or the Federal German Republic where the combined tax rate now approximates 50 percent. Nor is there a clearly established link between a nation's prosperity and its level of national debt as some analysts would suggest in urging a reduction in the funding of social programs. At a time when U.S. productivity gains are stagnant the powerful Japanese industrial machine last year raised its productivity by 8 percent while maintaining a national debt that is higher relative to GNP than our own.

Would the nation be undergoing an unsettling debate on the future of Social Security benefits if general revenue had been made available to the system by the tax legislation of 1977? Could it be that no other industrialized nation in the West is experiencing a wave of alarmism in the funding of its national retirement program because no other industrialized nation has chosen to draw the revenue from a single source in the style of the U.S.? In the long run the Carter administration's attempt to solve a "crisis" by reducing benefits in the Social Security program may be remembered as one more example of its narrow provincialism. By accepting the established support system and the established retirement age as unalterable givens, the administration has lost the opportunity to supply the type of comprehensive support which Social Security needs to regain its status as a program of equity.

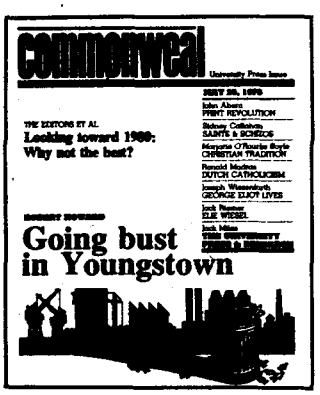
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Commonweal Subscription Order Form

$20.00
For the first one-year subscription (your own or gift)

$15.00
For each additional one-year subscription

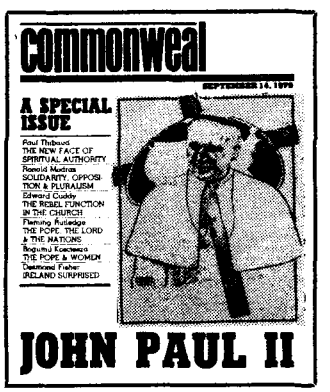
U.S. & Canada; other countries add $2 per year.



Your Name *(Please print)*

Street

City *State* *Zip*



To _____ *(Please print)*

Street

City *State* *Zip*

Gift card to read from _____

To _____ *(Please print)*

Street

City *State* *Zip*

Gift card to read from _____

☐ Enter my subscription plus gifts.
☐ Enter gifts only.
☐ Enter a subscription for me only.

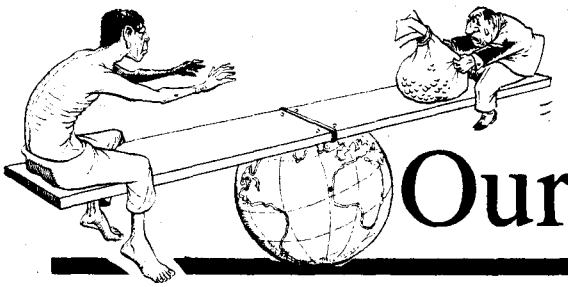
☐ Send gift cards to me for mailing.
☐ Send gift cards directly to recipients with my greeting.

☐ I enclose. ☐ Bill me.

COMMONWEAL 232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Phone (collect) 212-MU 3-2042

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Our Philippine colony

JIM MORRELL

"YOU MAY FIRE when ready, Gridley," said Admiral Dewey in 1898 and proceeded to destroy the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. In a few minutes the United States had its largest colony—the Philippines.

In 1946 the Philippines received its nominal independence. During the 1950s and 1960s the fledgling Filipino industrialists set up high tariff walls, restricted foreign investment and tried to become economically independent. In 1972 President Marcos declared martial law, abolished the Philippine Congress, exalted the technocrats and reopened the economy to foreigners.

So now we are at 1979. The islands have their political independence, but are economically dependent as ever. They take their economic advice from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, not from their own greedy industrialists. Today the World Bank finds Marcos "receptive to World Bank advice, particularly when it is associated with project lending," an internal bank memo says. Similarly, as the IMF's loans have increased, so has the influence of its staff over the Philippine authorities. "The staff had obviously played an interesting part in the development of the authorities' thinking on the medium-term strategy," said one IMF official at a closed-door meeting. By last June the IMF could announce that the Philippine government was following IMF-favored policies of raising regulated prices of a range of basic commodities and services in return for a $189-million loan.

With the Philippine economy reopened to foreigners, U.S. banks have returned in force, backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government. Before 1972, a bill had been introduced in the Philippine Senate to require 60 percent Filipino ownership of four foreign branch banks. Other legislation required Filipino ownership of all new financial institutions and an end to foreign investment in strategic areas of the economy. After declaring martial law and abolishing the Senate, Marcos decreed Filipino banks open to 40 percent foreign equity and foreign branch banks restored to their former full privileges. Since 1975 the Bank of America, Continental Illinois and Security Pacific National Bank have invested $32.9 million in new Manila offices, all insured against possible Philippine takeover by the U.S. foreign aid program.

The United States has got its colony back. U.S. aid advice flows in through 12 separate bilateral and multilateral agencies. There is only one problem with the advice, as an IMF executive director admitted during a recent board meeting: "Neither the Fund nor any other agency has yet provided advice on how to achieve both progress and social justice at the same time."

This is a significant omission. In the absence of social justice, lower-class poverty is increasing even faster than upper-class wealth. The Philippines today has more desperately poor people than anytime in its history. While Marcos and his high-living entourage are among the richest elites in Asia, at the bottom the poorest 20 percent gets only 3.9 percent of the national income. Those most afflicted by malnutrition are the ones least capable of surviving it: infants and children. In four low-income communities studied, the caloric intake of adults was 81 percent of adequacy, of infants aged one to three only 64 percent and of older children aged four to nine only 69 percent. Such serious inadequacies cause permanent damage. Pregnant women attained only 64 percent caloric adequacy, lactating women only 46 percent. A survey of the Tondo slums showed 87 percent of the children with some clinical malnutrition.

Overall, the Asian Development Bank estimated 78 percent of preschool children have inadequate nutrition. At mealtime in a poor family, the father has priority because he is a breadwinner in a physically taxing occupation. The mother is next, followed by the older children. The infants and toddlers get what is left. There is no other choice if the family is to survive. This is the cruel logic of survival today for millions of Filipino families, after 80 years of close ties with the United States.

Malnutrition leaves its victims easy prey to pneumonia, tuberculosis and gastrointestinal infections—the three leading killers in the Philippines. Malaria is found in Mindanao and schistosomiasis, a parasitic disease borne by an aquatic snail, is in the Eastern Visayas. All are preventable.

The country has the resources to conquer both disease and malnutrition, but its chaotic market economy squanders those resources on convenience items for the rich and middle class. In Manila magnificent new office buildings jut into the sky, and in their shadows miserable squatters' huts spill into the streets. Imported cars owned by the middle class jam the streets, paralyzing public transportation in a city of 6 million,

JIM MORRELL *is an Associate of the Center for International Policy, a Washington-based project of the Fund for Peace.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

costing the country $3.2 billion for the cars and the gasoline they burn, while in the vast countryside 50 percent of the villages have only dirt roads that are unusable half the year, and another 20 percent have no roads at all, only footpaths winding their way through miles of verdant coconut groves, past hundreds of bamboo huts where life goes on almost unchanged since Western colonization began. The scene is picturesque, but it costs the farmers 55 cents a bag to send their coconut products by water buffalo to the nearest road.

The government proclaims great reforms but never carries them out. Land reform, promulgated in 1972, has so far benefited only 6 percent of the rural population. Tax reform has benefited no one at all. Government is ineffective, except in the area of repression. Since 1972 Marcos has quadrupled military spending in real terms while starving health and education.

THE UNITED STATES bears a lot of the blame for this outcome. By insisting on the Open Door at all costs, by not letting progressive Filipino nationalists find their own way to development, Washington has encouraged the kind of externally pliant and internally ineffective government that exists there now. One statistic illustrates the priorities of U.S. policy: only 22 percent of our aid to the Philippines reaches the needy.

The rest goes for a bureaucratic horror show:

—$123.6 million for military aid to a country that the Pentagon says faces no external threat.

—$82.5 million for tobacco loans by the Commodity Credit Corporation to a country afflicted by malnutrition.

—$900,000 in U.S. government insurance for the California-based Security Pacific National Bank's luxurious new office in Manila.

—$22 million for Title I Food for Peace loans used to subsidize the Philippine government central budget.

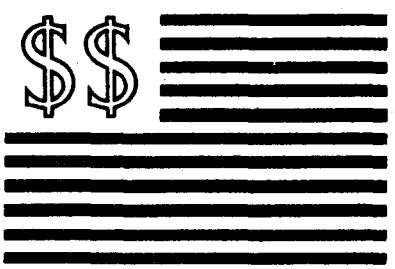
—$644 million in Export-Import Bank loans and guarantees for a nuclear power plant that may never be built.

—$15.3 million for World Bank rural electrification priced hopelessly out of reach of the rural poor.

—$16.2 million for Asian Development Bank loans to wealthy Philippine factory-owners who refuse to pay their workers more than $1.76 a day.

—$116.7 million in IMF loans conditioned on a reduction of real wages for the poor.

By the time the IMF, the CCC, OPIC, PL-480 Title I and all the other acronyms are finished dividing up the pie, aid to the needy amounts to less than a penny a person per day.



This diversion of U.S. aid away from the needy results from the very structure of a dozen disparate aid institutions, each created at a different time for a different purpose ranging from disposal of U.S. exports to insuring overseas investments of U.S. multinational corporations. Government financial institutions such as the Export-Import Bank, the World Bank and the IMF have replaced the traditional bilateral aid programs as the chief sources of development capital for the Philippines. Each of these institutions, however, has its own criteria for approving and monitoring loans. The result in 1979 is that the largest source of de facto U.S. development capital for the Philippines, the Eximbank, is also the agency least concerned with aiding the needy. The bureaucratic slot it occupies is labeled "export credit agency." Aiding the needy is "AID's job."

Diverse as these aid institutions are, they do act in concert. Aid to the Philippines since 1971 has been coordinated by an aid consortium chaired by the World Bank. The bank has used this pivotal position to oppose Philippine economic nationalism—to keep the Philippines an economic colony.

Previous to 1972 pressures for militant economic nationalistic policies were building up in the Philippines. They culminated in the Quasha decision of the Philippine supreme court that required 60 percent Filipino equity in all businesses, limited the right of foreigners to own large tracts of land and threatened confiscation of American property. Along with high tariffs, these measures gave Filipino-owned businesses partial control of the domestic economy.

U.S. officials and the international banks watched these developments with growing alarm—an attitude reflected in subsequent bank documents. A 1975 confidential Asian Development Bank report complained of the "lack of legislative support for even moderately progressive policies proposed by the government" before 1972. "Inward-looking and heavily protected" Philippine industry and "a spurt in government investment spending for social impact projects" also drew the bank's retroactive criticism. In a 1976 confidential memorandum the World Bank also scored the pre-martial law "inappropriate investment strategy" and "poor utilization of growing savings and large capital inflows." To punish the Philippines for these protectionist policies the World Bank cut its loans to about $30 million a year.

Already the banks and foreign chambers of commerce looked to Marcos for salvation. In 1970 a widely-quoted World Bank memorandum praised Marcos for his "commendable display of political courage" in forcing through currency devaluation and decontrol policies to encourage foreign investment against the will of domestic interests. It warned against "legislative or administrative action which would unduly restrict the scope for foreign investment in the country" even as important Philippine industrial interests pushed for policies to favor independent, domestically financed and controlled industrialization.

This activist posture placed the World Bank squarely in the vortex of Philippine domestic politics. Although Marcos was president and was populating government departments with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his U.S.-trained technocrats favoring foreign loans and investments, the Philippine constitution stood in the way of authoritarian rule. The nationalists succeeded in winning over legislators, the mass media and the courts to their independent strategy. The World Bank, AID and the Rand Corporation criticized Philippine protectionism and the costs of the rowdy Philippine elections as interfering with development. They overlooked the fact that long-term indigenous development required that native industrial interests have confidence in their own control of national economic policy.

IN 1972 MARCOS solved the problem of an uncooperative legislature by abolishing it and proceeded to muzzle the press and courts. A spate of presidential decrees abolished capital gains taxes on foreigners, removed stock transfer taxes and lifted import duties for manufacturing equipment. Another decree restored the position of foreign banks. With the objecting legislature, media and courts swept out of the way, the World Bank's policies could be carried out. By 1976 the bank would advocate an activist role to support the Marcos appointees:

> An active Bank presence also has the effect of strengthening the position of the highly capable technical leadership in the Government and helping them to achieve policy objectives, which we endorse.

More eloquent than these expressions of approval was an increase of the World Bank lending program from $157.6 million during FY 1969-1973 to $1338.6 million during FY 1974-1978, and a confidential 1976 memorandum advocated a further increase in the FY 1976-1980 lending program to $1850.5 million. After martial law the World Bank increased its loans to the Philippines elevenfold, against a threefold worldwide increase over the same period. If the main casualty of this process was Philippine democracy, the World Bank found little cause for alarm. "While the country is formally under martial law," it contended, "the basic strategy of government is to resort as little as possible to outright coercion and to broaden popular support through the development of effective economic and social programs."

Pressure from the World Bank, as leader of the aid consortium of seven countries and four international agencies, contributed to the destruction of long-standing Philippine democratic institutions and greatly increased the country's vulnerability to the treacherous international economy. By mid-1979 it was obvious that World Bank-prescribed economic policies had mobilized Philippine domestic resources even less effectively than the vacillating but independent economic policies of the previous decade. The tragic failure of this third development decade—obvious to anyone visiting the countryside or the urban slums where most of the people live—ought to suggest to the World Bank and associated agencies a lesson in humility, based on the fact that the half-billion dollars they provide amounts to only 2 percent of the Philippine GNP of $23 billion and so cannot even begin to substitute for effective mobilization of domestic resources.

The double default of the government and the aid agencies leaves as the only people working effectively for the poor the church social action committees, labor unions, progressive opposition candidates and other struggling reformers and radicals who have suffered most from Marcos's capricious martial law regime since 1972. The 1979 State Department human rights report on the Philippines said, "Only very limited steps have been taken toward the restoration of democratic government." Among such "curtailments" it reported abductions and murders of dissidents by the military.

Many of those arrested were working to help the poor. Trinidad Herrera, a church activist in the Tondo slums, was arrested and cruelly tortured in 1977 and was only released after pressure from Vice-President Walter Mondale and the Canadian government. Ernesto Arellano, a labor lawyer working with the poor in Manila, was arrested in June 1979 and tortured during interrogation at Camp Crame. He is still in jail. In the Philippines, therefore, the issues of political human rights, of basic human needs and of national independence are one. The reformers whom Marcos suppresses are the only people who can lead the Philippines out of its colonized, impoverished state.

To help this process along, the United States should adopt a truly neutral role in Philippine domestic politics and press the international organizations it participates in to depoliticize their involvement and provide neutral project or economic aid, *sans* gratuitous advice on grand strategy. In 1977 and 1978 the Carter administration and Congress began to correct the earlier perfervid support of Marcos. Congress cut $6.2 million in military aid and the Carter administration abstained on six industrial loans in voting within the World Bank and Asian Development Bank. For 1980 Carter is also eliminating a $10 million Food for Peace loan because it serves no development purpose.

However, the main change in the U.S. aid program for 1980 is a 138 percent *increase*, from $31.8 million to $75.7 million, in military aid to Marcos. Military aid is the last thing the Philippines needs. The Pentagon stated, "The Philippines is neither perceived as a threat by other nations in the region nor threatened by them." If not against other nations, then against whom will the arms be used? Most likely, against the Filipinos themselves. There is no other target in sight.

The United States has its Philippine colony back indeed, complete with poverty, repression and military aid. Concerned Americans should push for an end and a redirection of the remaining aid to reach the needy. Just by taking the aid we send there now and redirecting it to the needy, we could quadruple its effectiveness without spending an additional dime. We should depoliticize the aid by channeling it past the repressive government directly to local social action committees or to uncorrupted officials and administrators.

Opposing any such humanitarian reform will be a hard core of giant American multinational corporations who like the privileges Marcos gives them. These corporations have the inside track in Washington because presidents traditionally appoint their representatives—men from the worlds of big law, big business and big foundations—to run the State and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Treasury departments. Once in office, these bureaucrats obstruct even a well-intentioned president from decisive reforms. They run the eight self-sustaining, semi-autonomous banks that now provide 88 percent of total U.S. and multilateral aid to the Philippines. Even though President Carter and Congress have reformed AID, it only provided 6 percent of the total. The World Bank, Asian Development Bank and IMF are all hostile to American human rights policy actions.

Although the name of Dewey Boulevard in Manila has been changed to Roxas Boulevard, to honor a Filipino patriot, the shots that Dewey fired still reverberate. They are heard in the 138 percent increase in military aid, in the IMF's "performance criteria" that squeeze the poor, in the waste of $3.2 precious billions for foreign oil to burn in foreign cars, in the World Bank's gratuitous intervention in Philippine politics, in the U.S. government-sponsored return of the Bank of America to Manila. It's time to give the Philippines its second independence. Provide neutral humanitarian aid from afar, but let the people find their own way to develop their potentially bountiful islands.

A PROPOSAL FOR DEALING WITH POLICE BRUTALITY

The Philadelphia story

ISIDORE SILVER

THE PROBLEM of police brutality—calculated and systematic rather than random in nature—once thought to be an artifact of the strife-ridden 1960's has arisen again, publicly and vividly. Although a district judge dismissed the major portion of the Justice Department's massive lawsuit against the Philadelphia police department, the civil rights suit may presage other legal actions against police forces of cities (such as Houston) which are vulnerable to charges of systematic civil rights violations.

While the question of just why the late seventies has become (yet another) era of increased concern about police brutality may fascinate sociologists, the issue is both timeless and of great concern to the citizenry at large. Although some of the brutality may be attributed to certain factors "left over" from the sixties, such as the presence of organized rebels (MOVE in Philadelphia), much misconduct reflects longer-standing problems of police lawlessness toward isolated individuals, especially the poor and members of minority groups.

Again, questions of which departments at which times exhibit what kinds of patterns of brutality, and why, may be of scholarly concern, but the fundamental issue lies deeper. The problem of controlling police abuse is part of the general question of making police power itself more accountable to the public. The police have substantial physical and legal power and discretion; it must be adequately overseen and controlled, irrespective of whether a particular department abuses the power.

In this perspective, discovery of the "causes" of systematic police brutality will not materially aid in discerning solutions. Indeed, just as "solutions" for at least some problems of criminality may have nothing to do with the (presumed) causes—making premises secure by improved technology obviously sheds no light on why burglars "burgle"—police criminality may be abated by measures wholly independent of the causes. In any event, "causes" tend to be complex—while the Philadelphia department's depredations may be "caused" in part by the twelve-year history of support given by former police commissioner, now mayor Rizzo, it appears that quite different causes are at work in Houston where political officials do not support police brutality.

Thus, while it may well be true that (a) the social conditions of various municipalities or (b) the social, political and economic class interests of local influentials or (c) the personal backgrounds, characteristics and role-perceptions of most policemen in a given "police culture" or (d) all of the above *may be* relevant, understanding of these factors offers no possible solutions. Indeed, the greater the harmony between these "background" factors and police misconduct, the more difficult it will be to change police practices since social policy can rarely uproot and modify relatively fundamental and stable background patterns of beliefs, attitudes and conduct.

A few years ago I was asked by an earnest member of the Pennsylvania Attorney-General's office about my views on the "Philadelphia problem." My answer—that the only hope for reform of that benighted group was to restructure the department by removing it from mayoral control—was skeptically received. That, I was told, would be politically impossible. My rejoinder was simply to note that this proposal (or something similar) was necessary since tinkering with the problem would only make it worse—as apparently has happened. Of course, Mayor Rizzo's impending retirement and replacement by a presumably more enlightened politician may solve (or at least ameliorate) Philadelphia's problem for a

ISIDORE SILVER *is a professor of constitutional law and history at John Jay College of Criminal Justice.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time, but the fundamental issue will remain—how should and can police power be made more accountable?

IT SEEMS to me that recent proposals—improved training of new officers, community control, independent agencies to investigate misconduct charges, stronger internal investigation units—have proven to be inadequate, either in theory or in practice in most (though not all) places. Rather, the answer, incomplete though it may be, is to transfer the police function from the mayor's office to that of the local prosecutor and to use local bar association grievance committees to oversee both operations. Police misconduct would be prosecutorial misconduct. Thus, the law enforcement function, now divided between police and prosecutor, would be united, and the prosecutor would be subject to oversight by the professional bar. Such oversight would induce prosecutors to institute policies and practices which would make law enforcement open and subject to review by knowledgeable, even expert bodies. The police argument that "outsiders" cannot understand the "street problems" faced by the department would be vitiated. The threat of disbarment proceedings or even censure by local bar associations would compel prosecutors to devise innovative means to protect our liberties.

There is considerable sociological evidence that people who consider themselves to be "professionals" will engage in less occupational criminality than "businessmen" and "quasi-professionals" such as the police. In many cities where the police engage in lawless practices, prosecutors do not, though both are subject to the same "climate of opinion." This seems to be true in Philadelphia and Houston. In New York City, despite the recurrence of police scandals, the level of prosecutorial performance has been higher (the Manhattan D.A.'s office under Frank Hogan and his successors often prosecuted crooked and brutal cops).

Since prosecutors are usually elected (except in three states), they are doubtlessly subject to political pressures. Their capacity to resist those pressures seems to be increasing. Also, although bar associations have not been hitherto known for vigorous action against errant members of the legal profession, their records in recent years have also been improving. No, this proposal is not perfect; in our political and social system no proposal can be, if it is to utilize existing agencies. But, it is demonstrably better than (a) the present system and (b) other "reform" ideas.

THE IMPORTANT factor is that prosecutors possess the expertise to understand and control the policies and practices of police departments without crippling the ability of those departments to fight crime. Prosecutors are also professionals who owe at least some allegiance to professional canons of ethics. Bar Associations—often dominated by "elitists" who highly value civil liberties—have within their ranks numerous members who are also "experts" about the criminal justice system, including the workings of police departments. The mobilization of these already extant resources would make the operations of vital agencies such as the police (and the D.A.'s office itself) visible, more rational, and more open to public scrutiny. There is nothing in what has been said that would bar media coverage and monitoring of the performances of both prosecutors and bar associations.

There would be important side effects as well. Police operations would become truly professional, rather than exercises in public relations gimmickry. New thinking would be brought to problems such as the creation of standards for use of deadly force against offenders (or presumed offenders)—an issue of growing importance in many American cities. The law enforcement function would be less fragmented than it is now. Since all laws can never be fully enforced all the time, policy decisions about the degree of enforcement (conditioned in part by the prosecutor's knowledge of what judges and juries will do) would replace the ad-hoc or vague and confused determinations of police supervisors and street officers. Discrimination in law enforcement—which laws get enforced against whom (and, again, why these particular targets?)—would be reduced. Better use of scarce law-enforcement resources would occur when planning can be consolidated under one agency.

More than greater efficiency will result. We would find that greater accountability will be compatible with our understanding of the role of law enforcement in modern democratic society. In a system which delicately (or, at times, indelicately) blends the power of "laws" with the power of "men," while attempting to remain true to ideals of justice and fairness for all, this result would not only be foreseeable but welcome.

Screen

NO INTERFERENCE

A MOST RESPECTFUL ADAPTATION

IN MY LAST COLUMN I was trying to distinguish among three kinds of movies—good, bad, and indifferent—on the basis of a certain type of scene. This is often a silent scene, like the one I was discussing from Christian de Chalonge's *Other People's Money* where the hero, waiting on a train platform, watches an old woman remove some dust from her husband's eye. The pleasing thing about this scene is its ambiguity. Though it is apparent that the hero is strongly moved by the old couple, we are uncertain why. A good movie has scenes of this sort in it. A bad one also has the scene, but then hurries to eliminate its ambiguity. (This is what de Chalonge's film does in the next scene. The hero explains to his wife what the previous scene meant, and snuffs out the mystery which made the scene enjoyable.) An indifferent movie doesn't bother with scenes of this sort at all.

Nor is it only in movies that scenes like this occur. They are found in good novels as well. In Henry James's *The Euro-*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peans, there is a perfect scene of this type at the point when the heroine, the Baroness Eugenia, has decided to end her visit in America. She has come here to visit her cousins the Wentworths at their home outside Boston, in the hopes that doing so will somehow mend her flagging fortunes. A wealthy friend of theirs, Robert Acton, has shown a keen interest in her, but is now hesitating. Whether her announcement of return to Europe is intended to shake him out of his indecisiveness, or results from her genuinely being too offended by it to stay, is hard to tell. She goes to visit Acton's invalid mother to take her farewell; and as she is about to leave the boudoir, Mrs. Acton says her maid will meet Eugenia in the hall outside and show her down to the front door.

This is where the scene occurs, for when Eugenia arrives in the hall, the maid is nowhere in sight. Eugenia waits impatiently for a few moments, then decides to show herself out. As she descends the stairs, she takes her time and observes the arrangements of the house. She notices how the light comes in through a high window on the landing of the stair, and she notes the placement of some flower pots on the bench there. As she goes out the main hall below, she treads lightly, reluctant now to alert anyone in the household to her presence, and thereby to interrupt her solitary progress. She peers into each parlor as she passes along the hall, surveying with some care this house of which she might have been mistress, taking the measure of it. *"Comme c'est bien!"* she says to herself. When she comes at last to the front door, she opens it and steps into the sunshine beyond without having encountered anyone to whom she might have betrayed how she felt at this moment in her life.

In a way this mute scene where nothing happens is the climax of James's novel. All his novels are about these elusive moments in life when nothing *seems* to occur, but in fact everything changes. And this scene is also the most beautifully cinematic, the most adaptable and richly visual, in the novel. Yet in James Ivory's new film of *The Europeans*, the scene is not included. In the adaptation done by novelist and long-time Ivory collaborator Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, the scene before this one, where Eugenia (Lee Remick) takes leave of Acton's mother, and the scene after, where she encounters Acton himself (Robin Ellis) in the garden, are both done in a faithful, not to say literal, manner. But the intervening scene, one crucial to the novel which should have been the best of the movie, has been left out altogether. Ivory's *Europeans* is, in other words, the type of movie that is neither good, nor bad, but indifferent.

I realize that in saying this, I fly in the face of received opinion. Among the many high opinions bestowed upon the Ivory film, the most eminent is that of Leon Edel, who is America's leading James scholar. But I think there is a great fallacy in supposing that someone like Edel must have the last word on a movie adaptation of James. I suspect that what Edel loves the movie for is its weakness. It is a movie that can excite a very intense remembrance of James because it has no style of its own. There is nothing in it that might interfere with our recalling the novel. It seems so clear and liquid a communication of James's story that as a movie it is practically nonexistent. The adaptation never embellishes, but only strips away. It gives us much less than the novel does, and in this way it leaves us lots of room to reimagine the novel in it. The characters stand far apart in big, sparsely furnished New England parlors, and we are free to invent in the dead air spaces between them the rich Jamesian relations they have in the novel. The movie is like one of those breakfast cereals where all the nutrition is removed from the grain in the processing, so vitamins must be sprayed on with hoses at the factory and poured on in the milk at the breakfast table to restore what has been lost.

We are so used to having Hollywood make great literature into travesties that we are profoundly grateful—too grateful—for a respectful adaptation. We respond as if there were no higher virtue than piety, no greater demand movies can make upon themselves than to be deferential toward the achievements of older arts. Literal adaptations of this kind work only on those rare occasions when a filmmaker discovers in a novelist a truly kindred spirit. Where a filmmaker's view of life coincides closely enough with a writer's, the result can be like a revelation. One imagination submits to the other as it would to a visionary experience. This is what happened when Robert Bresson adapted George Bernanos's *The Diary of a Country Priest*, or when Eric Rohmer adapted Kleist's *The Marquise von O . . .* . The latter is the closer to *The Europeans* as a problem in adaptation. Like Ivory, Rohmer was dealing with a novel of manners that is historically distant. But his is by far the greater film because it is as much a part of his own work as of Kleist's.

If we knew nothing of Kleist, we might accept *The Marquise* as solely the invention of Rohmer. It follows as naturally from *Claire's Knee*, *La Collectionneuse*, *My Night at Maud's* and Rohmer's other "moral tales" as it does from Kleist's work. It remains a great film even without an awareness of Kleist. The same could be said of Bresson's *Diary*, whereas Ivory's *Europeans* becomes a rather insipid costume drama as soon as we stop thinking of it as having been inspired by James. We don't feel beyond the film's identification with James the presence of Ivory and Jhabvala in it. We come away from the film with little sense of who they are. In those moments when Edel awakes from his Jamesian revery and has to admit to himself how thin Ivory's movie is, the uneasiness he feels is probably quelled by his realization that fewer and fewer people are literate enough to read James at all. Anyone who teaches realizes this. As James's fiction gradually turns into a dead language, like Latin, the only life left to it may be in movies. Perhaps Edel consoles himself with the thought that a movie such as Ivory has made is better than nothing. At least it's more dignified than a Classic Comic. *(The first of two parts.)*

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

GIVE COMMONWEAL for Christmas. See form on page 657.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books: THE FREE MARKETEERS

IN THE "POSTSCRIPT" of his new book *Breaking Ranks*, addressed to his son John, neoconservative editor of *Commentary* Norman Podhoretz rejoices that the younger generation are now eager "to take their places in the world." For them there is to be no more of that "mistaken idealism" that deplored America's inequities and led to such ameliorations as, say, affirmative action or Medicare. These youngsters, to quote Podhoretz, are "assuming responsibility for themselves by taking their places in a world of adults" and not looking "to external forces for the cure"—either for themselves and certainly not for those worse off, the losers in our society who aren't *"Making It,"* the title of Podhoretz's earlier memoir.

Podhoretz may be right: the preponderant mood in the waning 1970s does appear to be one of accommodation. In his deft, cogent analysis of the neoconservative movement Peter Steinfels identifies its doctrines and in the effort provides a clear, subtle gloss of our times. It demonstrates again that ideas have consequences and, as Keynes once noted, as often as not they are anachronistic ideas.

Steinfels has written a very necessary book for these times. The degree to which the punditry of Podhoretz, Irving Kristol, Pat Moynihan, Dan Bell, Ed Banfield *et al.* has influenced this national mood change is problematic, but clearly they epitomize it and comprise a formidable foe to liberalism as we have known it. In his painstakingly close look at the neoconservatives Steinfels is admirably fair. As their contemporary and a long-time acquaintance, friend, or colleague of many of them, I have the sense I've been maintaining a close look at them for decades now, vacillating between admiration and increasing dismay. But Steinfels illumines the most difficult or disorderly of their ideas as no one has ever done before—notions about legitimacy and about the identifying characteristics of the "new class," for example.

THE NEOCONSERVATIVES
Peter Steinfels
Simon & Schuster, $11.95, 355 pp.

Edward Chase

Steinfels accomplishes this by opening with a quite dazzling essay on the significance of neoconservatism. He writes with a precision and style lamentably uncommon in political analysis today. "The premises of this book are simple. First, that a distinct and powerful political outlook has recently emerged in the United States. Second, that this outlook, preoccupied with certain aspects of American life and blind and complacent toward others, *justifies a politics which, should it prevail threatens to attenuate and diminish the promise of American democracy* (italics mine). Third that this outlook has nonetheless produced telling critiques of contending political views and provocative analyses of specific political proposals; it has devoted its attention to fundamental questions its rivals have frequently overlooked; and it deserves, accordingly, a thoughtful, extensive and careful evaluation."

Steinfels proceeds to trace the social-political dynamics that led to neoconservatism, then summarizes the doctrine, then devotes a lengthy chapter each on Irving Kristol, "The Standard Bearer," on Daniel Patrick Moynihan "The Professional Politician," and on Daniel Bell, "Theoretician and Moralist." The last third of his book focuses on the "new class" and on the role of intellectuals that constitute its heart; on the problem of equality and social policy; and finally on the troubles the neoconservatives have in at once honoring democracy yet fearing its consequences unless it is disciplined by the kind of elitism they favor.

I have underscored Steinfels's words about neoconservatism threatening to attenuate and diminish the promise of democracy because that dire prospect is in fact being realized, and, while Steinfels aptly pinpoints the threat, he does not explain sufficiently the whys and wherefores. In summing up its vices he does criticize neoconservatism for "its unwillingness to direct attention to socioeconomic structures and to the existing economic power." Here, in its economic analysis or more accurately in its avoidance of economic analysis lies the cardinal wrongheadedness of the movement.

In a dismaying disavowal of his earlier perception of the price market system's inadequacies, Kristol has become a prototypical marketeer—virtually no social problem can't be solved by the "free" market.Knee-jerk faith in the market is central among the neoconservatives, Daniel Bell alone seeming uncomfortable with such simplism. There is a basic economic truth that is consistently and irresponsibly ignored by the neoconservatives. It is that *market prices do not reflect social costs nor social benefits.* For a social philosophy to fail to confront this fact is nothing short of disastrous. It forces the neoconservatives to accept the manifest cruelties of a market that for all its great usefulness can only put a price on, can only respond to, effective demand, that is, *cash-backed demand, not social need.* Indeed the most repugnant aspect of neoconservatism is its lack of compassion for the disadvantaged. The poor have demands. The axiom of the dynamics of supply and demand is a bitter joke for them. Housing, medical care, public transportation, education, welfare and structural unemployment historically have been bypassed by the price market system. "Rigging" the market by using existing private profit-making mechanisms with publicly funded incentives and sanctions (Medicare and Medicaid involve rigging—private insurance companies, hospitals, doctors) is a device grudgingly accepted by the neoconservatives. That is a tacit admission of the market's limitations. But rigging all too often is costly, inefficient and perpetuates structural inequities in the system.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The neoconservatives' easy reliance upon the price market system implicates them in a *willful*—Kristol, Banfield, Glazer, etc., are deeply sophisticated in economics—disregard for the realities: not only (1) the truism of the market's operative indifference to social needs or benefits, but also (2) the fact that the dominating oligopolistic corporations with administered pricing power transcend the market, and pass on their costs to the consumer. The neoconservatives also must willfully ignore the fact that (3) the very structure of the corporation, an abstract entity that by charter has but one overriding objective, to return a profit to the shareholder, cannot be depended upon as a vehicle individually or collectively to see to the broad public interest and to social justice. Adam Smith's "invisible hand" has never been able to deliver the best of all possible worlds in the mythical past (though capitalism was a stage up from the arbitrary, inherited economic power of feudalism), let alone in the modern world. It is these hard realities of the American economic order that underlie the point of Steinfels's astute perception that "neoconservatism threatens to diminish the promise of American democracy."

Diane Ravitch, in her recent *New York Times* review of *Small Future: Children, Inequality and the Limits of Liberal Reform*, Richard H. deLone's book for the Carnegie Council on Children, savaged the author for seeming to suggest that an "omnicompetent" (read totalitarian) state is needed to rectify the undeviating and pervasive inequalities of income and race in America. Her review is an archetypal neoconservative critique and she is correct in demonstrating the considerable progress that has been made in moderating our racial caste system since the 1960s (thanks to the very government interventions neoconservative philosophy would bar). Typically, though, this caveat serves to distract legitimate attention from the palpable inequities we observe daily, and that deLone's Carnegie research statistics verify. His book is an irrefutable demonstration that the newly born do face radically disparate life chances depending upon the three factors: wealth, class, or race of their parents. Is deLone really being either naive or unconscionably demagogic when he suggests structural reforms are called for to effect modification of the extremes in income distribution?

A compassionate, fairminded response is "no," for the discrepancies, the injustices he describes are intolerable for a just society. What needs to be said is not that deLone is a foolish (or malevolent) totalitarian who fails to record progress we have made (actually his book does record this progress), but rather that, as John Kenneth Galbraith has correctly emphasized, American capitalism is extraordinarily adaptable, if one has the will to adapt it. The liberal tradition has in the past demonstrated and can continue to demonstrate a genius for pragmatic adjustments. The mixed economy that

JAN. 21-25
New Religious Movements as Challenge to the Churches. Johannes Aagaard, Aarhus University, Denmark; President of International Association for Mission Studies.

FEB. 4-7
The Church Growth Debate: God's Arithmetic or Ours? Orlando Costas, Howard Hageman, Dotis Roberts, Harvie Conn; Miriam F. Perlewitz, M.M., and David Moore. Joint seminar with the Continuing Education Center of Princeton Theological Seminary, at Princeton.

FEB. 12-15
Missionary Preaching: The Gospel in Context. Samuel Kamalesan, Vice-President-at-Large, World Vision International.

MAR. 4-7
Middle East Mosaic: Christian Churches Witness in a Muslim World. Norman Horner, Associate Director, OMSC, and Archbishop Athanasius Samuel, Syrian Orthodox Church.

MAR. 11-14
Laboratories of the Spirit: Four Mornings on Prayer. Anna-Marie Aagaard, Aarhus University, Denmark.

MAR. 18-21
The Biblical Basis for Mission. Gerald Anderson, Director, OMSC.

MAR. 24-28
The Bible, The Poor, and Oppression. Harvie Conn, Westminster Theological Seminary.

APR. 7-11
Christian Witness to Muslims: Issues for Mission Today. David Kerr, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, England.

APR. 14-18
Cultural Problems in Mission: Anthropology Where it Matters. Louis J. Luzbetak, S.V.D., Editor, **Anthropos International Journal.**

APR. 21-25
Announcing the Kingdom: Latin American Perspectives on Evangelization. Mortimer Arias, Latin American Methodist Council of Churches, La Paz, Bolivia.

APR. 29 - MAY 2
Jesus Christ, Salvation, and the World's Religions. Stephen Neill, Oxford, England.

Publishers of *The Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research*

OVERSEAS MINISTRIES STUDY CENTER
Ventnor, NJ 08406
Gerald H. Anderson, Director, Norman A. Horner, Assoc. Director

In a setting that invites reflection and renewal, we offer highly relevant courses of study for cross-cultural and international ministries, and accommodations with a family atmosphere.

REGISTRATION: $25 per course, with room and meals additional.

☐ Send application and more information

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

COUNTRY _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has matured from its New Deal origins testifies to this fact. The price market system can remain the basic dynamic of our economic order but governmental interventions can be made and must be made if the market itself is to survive let alone serve the public interest.

Almost alone among the neoconservative luminaries, Daniel Bell has retained this sense of needed government interventions in the market (he states, "I am a socialist in economics, a liberal in politics, and a conservative in culture.") and his motivation is social compassion—not sentimentality—rather a recognition of the need to alleviate to a degree the cosmic tricks played upon us all. Irving Kristol himself has written (1970) "So I conclude, despite Professor [Friedrich von] Hayek's ingenious analysis, that men cannot accept the historical accidents of the marketplace—seen merely as accidents—as the basis for an enduring and legitimate entitlement to power, privilege and property." He goes on to write, "And yet if the situation of liberal capitalism today seems so precarious, it is nevertheless to survive for a long while, if only because the modern era has failed to come up with any plausible alternative. Socialism, communism, and fascism have all turned out to be either utopian illusions or sordid frauds. So we shall have time—though not an endless amount of it, for we have already wasted a great deal." Today it is Kristol and his neoconservative colleagues who are "wasting time," intensifying the jeopardy we are in. Their vaunted campaigns to discover, through a recourse to conservative principles, the elements needed to nourish our spiritually impoverished civilization are carping and mean and they threaten the viable mixed economic order that can serve us well if we are neither doctrinaire nor cavalier in our use of it.

We are indebted to Steinfels for so brilliantly and with such eminent good will presenting the neoconservatives' doctrines and showing, in the end, that "neoconservatism may prove dangerous in ways that have little or nothing to do with the intentions of its intellectual sponsors." Precisely. Yes, we are in the neoconservatives' debt for the serious attention neoconservatism "pays to the moral culture that is a fundament of our political and economic life." The prospect we seem to face now, however, is a degeneration in their critique. Witness the rationalizations that have eventuated in an Irving Kristol supporting Nixon, and a Moynihan serving him; in superficial revisionist dismissals of the great gains in welfare and in social justice of the sixties; and indulgence in Goldwater-like cold war sloganeering. Steinfels's concluding words are commandingly to the point: "The great danger posed by and to neoconservatism is that it will become nothing more than the legitimizing and lubricating ideology of an oligarchic America where essential decisions are made by corporate elites, where great inequalities are rationalized by straitened circumstances and a system of meritocratic hierarchy, and where democracy becomes an occasional, ritualistic gesture."

Out of Africa

CHRISTIANITY REDISCOVERED:
AN EPISTLE FROM THE MASAI

Vincent J. Donovan

Fides/Claretian, $6.95 paper, 200 pp.

Eugene Hillman

THE EXPERIENCE of life in Latin America has radicalized many of the missionaries sent there from Europe and North America. Some have returned to their own countries to preach repentance to those who enjoy the fruits of a global economic system which pollutes the earth while making the rich richer and the poor poorer. Now Father Donovan, sent to Africa twenty-five years ago, has an even more radical and disturbing message for those who sent him. He presents this as "an epistle from the Masai" among whom he worked for many years in northern Tanzania.

Since that day in Antioch when Paul withstood Cephas to his face on the issue of imposing Jewish customs on gentile converts to Christianity, missionaries have been struggling with, for, or against, the ethnocentrism of the churches that sent them out to foreign peoples. In the spirit of St. Paul and the tradition of Ricci, De Nobili, and Las Casas, Donovan challenges the unexamined suppositions and the cultural arrogance of the sending churches. The keepers of Europe's folk religion may be expected to "frown" upon his effort.

Roman Catholic officialdom had always given lip service to the principle of "incarnating" the faith in the varied cultures of the peoples being evangelized. But missionaries were not in fact permitted to do this outside of Europe. Instead they simply transported the Western experience of Christianity, with all of its historical accretions, structures, and limitations, as a package inextricably bound up with the Gospel, to be accepted or rejected in its ambiguous totality. This is why the "young churches" in Africa (still "young" after a century) look like spiritual colonies of Europe, still subsidized heavily and staffed extensively by Christians of the Western world.

Donovan's discovery was made through his experience among the Masai people, and in the light of his fresh reading of the New Testament; but he has also been influenced significantly by the writings of Roland Allen and Hans Hoekendijk. There is in this book a surprising mixture of conservative evangelical missiology and *avant garde* incarnational theology. While searching for the meaning of the missionary ministry, the author finds the meaning of Christianity precisely in the missionary outreach for the sake of announcing to all peoples the "good news" that brings real human hope, joy, and liberation: not bad news that increases fear, anxiety and legalism.

Some of Donovan's reflections are quite thought-provoking: on the church, community, sacraments, eucharist, priesthood, and prayer. There is more valuable meditation material here than in most of the introverted and psychologized theology that passes for spiritual reading today. Each chapter is a new reminder and a further verification

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of an inflexible rule discovered by the biblical scholar Wilfred Harrington: "The clearer the words of Jesus in regard to Christian conduct, the more certainly have Christians done exactly the opposite."

While enthusiastically recommending this book to anyone interested in further disclosures related to the purpose of Christianity, I must admit that it is not without some weaknesses. Professional scholars, so much more expert and cautious than Donovan in their respective areas of anthropology, scripture, comparative religion, etc., might well question some aspects of his methodology, as well as some of his perceptions, judgments, terms, and syntax. They could, I am sure, score some valid points against him, if they should wish to do so; but the substance of this book would still remain to haunt them and us.

Crooks and straights

WOODSTOCK CENSUS:
THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF THE SIXTIES GENERATION

Rex Weiner & Deanne Stillman
Viking, $9.95, 273 pp.

BAREFOOT IN BABYLON:
THE CREATION OF THE WOODSTOCK FESTIVAL

Robert Stephen Spitz
Viking, 15.95, 513 pp.

Andrew Feinberg

ROCK REVIVALS featuring fifties performers have done big business for several years. This past summer, however, rock promoters who attempted to stage Woodstock resuscitations had trouble. Is this more evidence that the *sixties are dead and the fifties are back*? Yes, if you wish, but it could also be that one does not resurrect the spirit of Woodstock by gathering a handful of sixties' performers and bloating their "reunion" with the latest in hype. Those who like the sixties will buy only so much.

This August, on Woodstock's tenth anniversary, hordes of journalists and commentators similarly tried too hard to recapture the sixties. Many readers and viewers almost suffocated amid the swamp gas.

Barefoot in Babylon and *Woodstock Census* mercifully bring us some fresh air and fresh facts. Both are filled with vivid and appalling contradictions, a sign that the authors have not been blinded by either nostalgia or revisionism. Here are some examples to set the mood. When asked to cite their best sixties' experience, two census respondents revealed one of the schisms of the generation.

"Woodstock without a doubt!" replied one of the faithful. "Such a carefree time—almost immersed in my own world there—could've easily forgotten about everything outside of Max Yasgur's farm land."

"Selling 45,000 ice creams at the Woodstock festival . . . and then going into business," said a clothing retailer. "For me, the end of the 60's changed my whole life."

Another Woodstock profiteer was none other than Abbie Hoffman, the egomaniacal weasel who advocated mass theft as a social remedy. The Yippie

THEY NEED YOUR HELP!

Catholic Relief Services
THANKSGIVING CLOTHING COLLECTION
Bring clothing to your local parish

Americana—from Wisconsin

Howard Mumford Jones
An Autobiography
Here, one of the luminaries of American letters expresses the seasoned insights of more than a half-century of literary and historical inquiry. The resulting work will be one of keen interest to all readers who appreciate a lively, literate, thought-provoking, and richly anecdotal autobiography.
304 pages, $17.50

Clement Greenberg, Art Critic
DONALD KUSPIT
This is the first book to examine the totality of Greenberg's position, showing both its value and its incompleteness. Art historians, critics, and students will gain new insights with Kuspit as a guide.
224 pages, $15.00

The American Jeremiad
SACVAN BERCOVITCH
"...a dazzling performance...[Bercovitch] has written intellectual history at the highest level." —Edmund S. Morgan, in the New York Review of Books. "...unobtrusively learned and lucidly written...a notable contribution to the history of American culture." —Daniel Aaron, in Commonweal
254 pages, $15.00

Human Nature in American Thought
A History
MERLE CURTI
Pulitzer-Prize-winning author Merle Curti presents the first systematic account of changing ideas about human nature in American thought from the seventeenth century to the present. A sweeping work of intellectual history.
432 pages, $25.00

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS
114 North Murray Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53715

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leader, says author Robert Stephen Spitz, threatened to put LSD in the festival's water supply if he were not paid off by the promotors. After some spirited haggling, he settled for $10,000 in cash. How curious that it was Hoffman who coined the phrase "Woodstock Nation."

Both books question the significance of sixties' leaders, preferring to find the virtues of the Movement in the actions of the troops. It seems they are trying to avoid a cult of personality. They have to, mostly because the personalities have withered so badly. Weiner and Stillman are clearly defensive about articles on the shining knights of the Left who have been claimed by insurance companies, self-help salesmen and the tides of mellowness. *Woodstock Census* reveals that no single radical leader influenced even half of the respondents. Does it matter, the authors contend, that some of the leaders are now extolling the system as long as most of the followers have retained their skepticism and continue to work for change? How important is it that some of the people running Woodstock were crooks or young capitalists hungry for a quick score if the festival really did celebrate "peace and love"?

The last question provides some of the considerable tension in *Barefoot in Babylon*. Spitz wisely devotes four-fifths of his long book of the months of uncertainty before the whole world started watching. Anything was countenanced that kept the dream afloat, and at times it seems like a tale of I.T.T. and Lockheed excutives in hippie dress. With the scent of big money in the air, even the love generation got sticky fingers and remembered how to look out for number one.

The worst of the lot was Michael Lang, the 23-year-old executive producer. As with an Iago or a Pecksniff, one longs to do him physical damage. Lang created Woodstock (by squandering other people's money) so he could become a famous rock impresario. He peddled dreams demonically and got people to do his bidding by using the age's earnest peace-and-love rhetoric as a weapon. If one argued with him, he called one a traitor to the cause. The battle lines were so clear in the Sixties that no one could accept such a label. Lang made people feel foolish when they got angry at him, as if their sensible emotions branded them as establishment toadies.

Spitz's heroes, and there are many of them, are the workers who sweated for the festival. Unlike the pioneers, they had to clear land twice because they were booted out of Wallkill, N.Y., their first site, after enduring many weeks of harassment from the hippie-hating locals.

During the last weeks of preparation some people put in 23-hour shifts of hard labor, with the aid of B12 shots, speed and LSD. People passing by the site would help out for moderate pay and Spitz rhapsodizes about this collectivist zeal: ". . . everyone participated in the physical labor according to his ability and, for the most part, without complaint."

Yet his eyes are sharp. He tells us the members of the Hog Farm commune worked for the festival with one hand and stole from their fellow employees with the other, that the New York City cops hired for security blackmailed the promoters and spent their time gaining first-hand knowledge of sexual permissiveness, and that several of the festival's 3000 workers idled in a pharmacological paradise. Nevertheless, *Barefoot in Babylon* is dominated by a spirit of community. For most of the people it was a thrill working hard for something they believed in. That Yasgur's farm was transformed into a musical city for 450,000 in just one month is astonishing. Except for a few slow spots, Spitz tells his story clearly and dramatically.

If one cherishes some of the ideals of the sixties, *Woodstock Census* is also an upbeat book. The authors set out to prove that the sixties' legacy is not merely pot and blue jeans. The case is made, but with respondents who went out of their way to recall the era. Unsurprisingly, most are not embarrassed by their past. Many have kept the faith and, amusingly, the language, and this makes the book queer and fascinating.

The 1005 respondents were *participants* in the sixties, as these statistics reveal: 62 percent once thought of themselves as "hippies"; 57 percent tried LSD; 42 percent dealt drugs; 36 percent were tear-gassed; 31 percent knew at least two people who died from drugs; 29 percent thought putting LSD in a city water supply would be a good idea; 17 percent attended Woodstock; and 15 percent tried heroin. Only 4 percent of the men, however, served in Vietnam.

If these people have sold out, most failed to do it effectively. About half earn less than $10,000, and 71 percent do not believe "it's okay to work at a job you hate if the money's good." Many of them have fairly "straight" jobs, but few seem destined to become marketing vice-presidents. Most significant for the authors is that two-thirds of the sixties' radicals still call themselves radicals and half of all the respondents still want to change the world.

So what are they doing about it? Well, the survey is better at quantifying experiences with sex and drugs than with political activity. But some of the old activists

JACOB'S LADDER

THEOLOGY AND SPIRITUALITY IN THE THOUGHT OF AUSTIN FARRER

By Charles Hefling

A lucid introduction to the theology, biblical criticism and sermons of a remarkable twentieth century Anglican scholar and preacher.

$3.95 paper

COWLEY PUBLICATIONS • 980 Memorial Drive • Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Please enclose .50 for postage and handling

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are working to fight nuclear power, pollution, and radical and sexual discrimination. How many? Weiner and Stillman blow it by generalizing without the essential numbers.

Only 9 percent of the respondents say they are more apathetic and selfish now than in the sixties. I do not believe that for a second, but does it take frequent mass demonstrations to prove that many sixties' values have not been abandoned? The group's political convictions are now less grandiose and more vague, which does not mean these people have suddenly developed an urge to wear gray flannel.

"I still feel the same," one respondent says, "but feel more powerless to do things on a large scale. So I combat inflation, dishonesty, pollution, etc., on a personal level. Grow organic foods, move toward self-sufficiency and mutual dependence with friends. Things like that."

The nonchalance of that statement should not obscure the commitment. Despite all the absurdities they expose, these two books remind us that many of the fires of the last decade have not gone out.

In brief

THE OLD TESTAMENT WITHOUT ILLUSION, *by John L. McKenzie, Thomas More Press, $10.95, 264 pp.*

To say that this book is predictable is to offer it high praise. McKenzie in semi-retirement remains the McKenzie without whom an academic world to retire from would have been unthinkable. The Old Testament is shed of illusions with perhaps a touch more of abandon than the author would have permitted himself a few years back, but in general the spirit is positive, the judgments are mature, offered without arrogance and, occasionally, with an unwonted diffidence, and the language is characteristically civilized. There is, of course, the odd outrageous assertion dropped in here and there: an impudence which is one of the biblical art-forms.

The genesis of the book can be guessed

Why the director of the world's largest abortion clinic changed his mind about abortion

Aborting America

By Bernard N. Nathanson, M.D. with Richard N. Ostling

During the 1960's, Dr. Bernard N. Nathanson was a co-founder of the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws. In 1971 and 1972, he directed the Center for Reproductive and Sexual Health, which treated some 700 women a week. But, by 1974, he wrote in the *New England Journal of Medicine* of his "increasing certainty that I had in fact presided over 60,000 deaths."

In ABORTING AMERICA, Dr. Nathanson explains how he became convinced that human life exists in the womb from the onset of pregnancy. He takes readers inside the pro-abortion movement and shows its political workings. And he shares the philosophical and moral struggle which finally led him to conclude that "the abortion ethic is an invitation to irresponsibility."

Already triggering a wave of debate and controversy on television, radio, and in the press, ABORTING AMERICA is also enormously enlightening. Dr. Nathanson demonstrates that the real thinking and serious discussion on the issue of abortion have only just begun.

$10.00 at all booksellers now

DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

RATES: 70c a word, one time; 66c, three times; 63c, six times; Classified payable with order; monthly in advance for more than three times. COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., NYC 10016.

Married Priests

CORPUS-National Association Resigned/Married Priests. Box 2649, Chicago, 60690.

Loyola Theology School

Loyola University Graduate Courses in Theology. Spring semester begins January 14, 1980 and ends May 2, 1980. Offerings include: Psalms and Wisdom Literature, Rev. Frederick Moriarty, S.J.; Moral Teaching of the New Testament, Rev. Brendan McGrath, O.S.B.; Religion and Politics in Christian History, Rev. Richard Costigan, S.J.; Grace and Person, Sr. Mary Peter McGinty, C.S.J.; Christian Spirituality: History, Rev. Juan Lozano, C.M.F. These courses may be taken in the M.A. program or as unclassified students. Additional courses are available through the Loyola Institute of Pastoral Studies. Three graduate credits each; $112 per credit. Contact Sr. Mary Peter McGinty, C.S.J., LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, 6525 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626. Telephone: 312/274-3000.

Positions

THEOLOGIAN IN RESIDENCE: Bring theological education, reflection to state university. Requires theological expertise, teaching ability, organizational ability, ecumenical concern. Resume to John Tracy, 904 14th Street, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

Jesuit Programs

JESUIT PROGRAMS: Degrees or Audit. Scriptures; Theology; Spirituality; Spiritual Direction. Retreats; Israel Pilgrimage. Year or Summers. GONZAGA UNIVERSITY, Spokane, 99258.

Correspondence

CATHOLIC CORRESPONDENCE/ FRIENDSHIP CLUB. DETAILS: BOX 872, TROY, NY 12181.

at from its structure. There are twenty-three chapters, each more or less self-contained (with some repetitive overlaps), which approach the Old Testament in a roughly logical order as regards the chronology and topicality of its contents, allowance made for some now and then artistic license. Thus we proceed from the biblical outlook on the world and creation to that which respects human evolution, biological and social, to the notion of man as "fallen," to spirits and demons, to all that is entailed in biblical genealogies, and so forth. Along the way we stumble on relevancies drawn from just about any imaginable source: you can fight City Hall, ancestor worship in the Old South is less superstitious than most, cannibals are psychologically ill-equipped to stamp out the eating of people, the deluge at the 1926 Eucharistic Congress in Chicago provides a shaky fundament for theological conclusions, etc.

Theologians take their knocks: McKenzie regards much contemporary theology as tame and theologians as tamed. The judgment may be a bit unfair, since it is largely the exegetes' fault if illusions about the Old Testament (or the New Testament, for that matter) continue to bedevil the theological task. Some of the illusions, too, on which McKenzie sets his sights, such as verbal inspiration or total biblical inerrancy, represent targets that have already been fairly well riddled by critical arrows. No matter: the targets are the less likely to be set up again.

Considered as a collection of over twenty lectures or essays on the Old Testament by a master of the craft, this book represents very good value for the reader's money. One is tempted to single out any number of the author's conclusions for agreement or demurrer, but there are far too many of them for that. One agreement: all things considered, the book of Esther does seem to be a nasty piece of work. One demurrer: McKenzie opines that a modern hospital is run on rather more scientific lines than a modern archeological dig.

BRUCE VAWTER

REVIEWERS

EDWARD T. CHASE *is vice-president of the editorial department of* Times Books *in New York City.*

FATHER EUGENE HILLMAN *served as a Walsh-Price Fellow doing research and missionary work among nomadic peoples in Kenya.*

ANDREW FEINBERG *is a contributing editor of* The American Lawyer *magazine.*

FATHER BRUCE VAWTER, C.M., *is Chairman of the Theology Department at DePaul University in Chicago and the author of* This Man Jesus.

Correspondence

(Continued from page 642)

dominant today. It is characterized by a sense of alienation. The hope of the Gospel message has been sublimated into the dream of technological renewal and progress. But that dream has turned into the nightmare of pollution, corruption, social, economic and political injustice. Technology has become the antithesis of the Gospel message. Our religion has become so divorced from our technology that we have dichotomized our very being. If we are to recover from this terminal tearing apart of human nature, we must begin to restructure the foundations of our sciences. A metaphysics of science must be reestablished. Our colleges and universities must strive to bring together the arts and sciences. We must soften the sharp division that exists between faculties, even in some of our most prestigious Catholic universities and colleges. More interdiscipline cooperation is necessary. Man cannot be divided and subdivided "in aeternum" without mortal consequences. A wholeistic approach to man, which joins science and religion, must be undertaken.

The meeting at MIT is a beginning. But it is only a beginning. Perhaps the ideas advanced at Cambridge will filter into our colleges and universities. The Gospel message cannot be reserved for our private moments. The Gospel message is a call to serve that must embrace our entire being. Neither a scientist nor a theologian is such, divorced from his humanity. A reconciliation between

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Judeo-Christian values and science must be effected.

The reconciliation of science and religion must begin with an understanding that both are dealing with mystery, the mystery of being. To be ignorant of that mystery is to be ignorant of reality, itself.

E. YVONNE SMALL

Seeping heresy?

Jamaica, N.Y.

To the Editors: Fr. John Jay Hughes in two opportunties to present his evaluation of *The Battle for the American Church* and its author wrongly attributes for the second time to me a statement made by Hans Küng. In his July 6 review he suggests theological ignorance, perhaps formal heresy in the book calling the Eucharist "a repetition of the sacrifice of the cross." Chided for this misreading by Fr. Lawler, and standing with his "clearest recollection" ("Having read and reread it with the greatest care") Hughes (September 28th) reaffirms: "in Kelly's view the Mass is such a repetition."

The point is minor to me but apparently not to Hughes. Lest *Commonweal* readers think me more of a theological ignoramus than I really am, let us for their sake go to the text.

Chapter III of *The Battle* pp. 49-51 summarizes major points of Küng's *On Being a Christian* using his exact words where possible. On page 51 five lines beneath an italicized subheading which clearly reads *Küng on the Eucharist* Kelly writes (for Küng): "The Eucharist then is a commemoration of thanksgiving, not a repetition of the sacrifice of the Cross."

Apart from the fact that Doubleday printed "of" instead of "or" this synopsis is a faithful summary rendition of page 427 of the massive Küng tome where speaking of the Last Supper the Swiss theologian writes: "it is itself *not a repetition of the 'sacrifice' of the cross*. It is a *commemorative (anamnesis, memoria)* and *thanksgiving celebration*." (Emphasis Küng's).

The word "repetition" is Küng's not mine.

Incidentally, while there are those who suspect there is a little heresy buried deep in my Irish marrow, I do not think any of it seeped out in *The Battle*.

(REV. MSGR.) GEORGE A. KELLY
Director, Institute for Advanced Studies
in Catholic Doctrine
St. John's University

The author replies:

I am grateful for Msgr. Kelly's clarification, which has sent me back to his text and to Küng's German original. If Küng's statement that "the Eucharist is not a repetition of the sacrifice of the cross" is the "minor point" which Kelly now contends, why did he cite this perfectly orthodox proposition in a passage designed to show Küng's doctrinal unsoundness? Surely because he supposed that, like the other statements by Küng summarized in those pages, it was heretical, or tending to heresy. I have never had an interest in demonstrating Kelly's intentional heterodoxy, for unlike him I have no taste for witch hunts. I cited Kelly's use of an orthodox statement by Küng to illustrate his heterodoxy merely as an example of the theological oversimplification and general carelessness which prevent Kelly's interesting book from being the important contribution it might have been.

His present contention that this is "a minor point" is a fresh instance of unsound theological perception. The alleged Catholic teaching that the Mass was somehow a repetition of Calvary was a focal point of Reformation controversy. In August 1978 I heard a Monsignor from the New York Chancery Office commenting on a papal ceremony in Rome on national TV proclaim this very heresy as Catholic doctine. If such careless misrepresentations are permitted to go uncorrected, Protestants will conclude that the reason for their protest continues, and we can kiss ecumenism goodbye.

(REV.) JOHN JAY HUGHES

Commonweal welcomes letters on subjects treated in its pages. Letters of not more than 250 or 300 words naturally have a better chance of being published.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Two Regular Faculty Openings in:

Economic Development of the Third World
Economic Policy Issues of the Public Sector

The ultimate goal of the department of Economics is to produce students who will have the expertise to assist in the solution of the social problems facing humanity *and* who will have obtained an appreciating and understanding of these problems in a Christian framework. Thus, graduates in economics from the University of Notre Dame will be distinctive for their combination of technical competence, familiarity with alternative approaches, and vision of social justice. This requires faculty who will generate new knowledge through active research programs in addition to being dedicated teachers.

Qualifications for regular three-year appointments include significant research potential (accomplishments in the case of senior candidates) and the capacity and interest to pursue excellence in teaching at both the undergraduate and Ph.D. levels. Applicants should send resumé with a letter projecting research and teaching interests over the next three years. CONTACT: Charles K. Wilber, Chair, Department of Economics, University of Notre Dame, Indiana 46556.

ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY
Collegeville, Minnesota 56321

Applications are invited for the position of DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY. Position available August 28, 1980.

The Dean is the principal administrative officer of the School of Theology and bears supervisory responsibility for both the instructional and formational components of the School's Master of Divinity, Masters of Arts in Theology, Liturgical Studies, and Religious Education, and priesthood preparation programs.

The Executive Governing Board of the University has determined that, for the present, the person holding the position of Dean must have the qualifications demanded of rectors in Roman Catholic seminaries.

Roman Catholic priests who hold advanced degrees and show ability to develop and supervise programs of theological education and ministerial formation are invited to submit their application (including vita, transcripts of graduate study, and three recent letters of reference) to: Search Committee for the Dean of the School of Theology, Office of Academic Affairs, Saint John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota 56321.

Salary and rank commensurate with experienced and qualifications. Application deadline is February 1, 1980.

St. John's University is an Equal Opportunity Employer -504.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Make This Christmas More Beautiful

The Trees of Christmas

No book can more easily get you into the Christmas spirit than this one! And now, it's available in an inexpensive paperback edition (in addition to the cloth edition). *The Trees of Christmas* is a visual delight with its beautiful full-color photographs of 23 different trees from around the world. There are easy-to-follow instructions for making the exotic ornaments that adorn them. $6.95, paper; $8.95,cloth

Christmas Crafts for Everyone

Evelyn Coskey tells about Advent wreaths, crèches, molded string cages—you name it, and it's in here! The step-by-step instructions are easy to follow with Roy Wallace's helpful line drawings. $8.95

The Grandmother's Book

Joan Lowery Nixon shares the special joys of grandmothers with grandbabies—and their very special relationship with God. $5.95

Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible (Deluxe Edition)

The Deluxe Edition of the incomparable *Strong's Concordance* features a durable leather-look binding with a matching slip case and ribbon book marks. No other concordance matches this one! $29.95

Abingdon Bible Handbook

Edward P. Blair shares a wealth of information on, and interpretation of, the Scriptures in this indispensable volume. One of the most popular resources of its kind! $15.95

Bah! Humbug?

Lorna Balian tells the delightful story of Margie, who stands up to her big brother's persistent nagging that there is no Santa. The perfect children's gift.$8.95

Letters to Karen

Charlie W. Shedd shares some very special letters of advice to his soon-to-be-wed daughter. Both parent and daughter should derive much from this popular book. $8.95 (boxed gift edition)

The Will of God

Leslie D. Weatherhead's well-known work is for *anyone* who seriously desires to know God's plan for his or her life. $4.95 (gift edition)

The Mature Heart

Helen B. Emmons shares 150 meditations that will provide spiritual refreshment for every day. $6.95 (large print)

Bless This Mess and Other Prayers

Jo Carr and Imogene Sorley cover everything from the home to the community with these prayers. The humor and the insight of the authors will sustain you year after year. $4.95

Choose to Win!

Ernst G. Schmidt, in a challenging book, details what he calls the "opportunity attitude," which can make you a "winner" in life! $6.95

abingdon

at your local bookstore

412

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED